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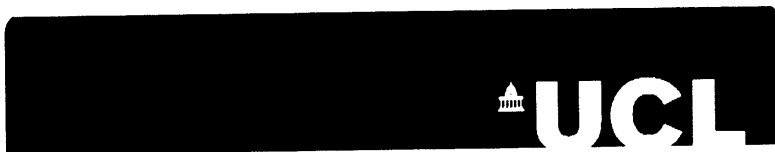
Can we Artificially Create a Sense of Place through Mixed use Developments?

Charlotte Louise Greenway
BSc (Hons)

Word Count: 10,679

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for the award of the Msc Spatial Planning at University College London:

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Abstract

This study investigates the capability of mixed use developments in artificially creating a sense of place or a community, with particular reference to the large scale mixed use development at Paddington Waterside. The data includes interviews with local residents and planning professionals familiar with the area. Passive observations were also conducted at Paddington Waterside as an observation exercise on different days and times to gain an understanding of how busy the area is at these times. To fully investigate the aims of this dissertation, four further additional research objectives were established. These involved the success of Paddington Waterside in creating a 'place,' and the residential elements in creating a 'home.' The research objectives further investigated the various Use Classes promoted at Paddington Waterside in successfully working together, and if such uses reflect the needs of Westminster.

Overall it has been considered that Paddington Waterside to date has not created a sense of place, or a lively community. The data suggests several reasons for this delay in the development. Most importantly the developments proximity to Paddington train station is seen as the biggest hindrance to the creation of a 'place,' allowing movement of residents at weekends. However, this is acknowledged to allow a sustainable development to be promoted with limited car reliance. Alongside this the results also highlighted that the regeneration of Paddington Waterside is clearly aimed at the employees within the development. As such, there is limited family housing within the development and a clear lack of child facilities. This was also identified to inhibit the creation of a sense of place at this location.

Can we artificially create a Sense of Place through Mixed Use Developments?

1.0 Introduction

Mixed use developments are becoming increasingly popular particularly within large scale city centre regeneration initiatives. The notion of mixed use has emerged as one of the key themes in the Department of the Environment's Quality in Town Centres initiative (1995). The revised Planning Policy Statement 6 (PPS6, 2005) (Town Centres and Retail Developments) also stresses the importance related to this type of re-development. PPS 6 encourages Local Planning Authorities to include policies to promote mixed land uses within their development plans.

The concept of mixed use development is ambiguous. The relatively low density of each use provided within mixed-use schemes generally suggests they offer few of the benefits associated with the traditional layout of cities. The proposition that mixed use development can make a valuable contribution to town centres is based on our observation of attractive places, *"...which is at once both intuitive and rational,"* (ODPM, 2002, Page 28). The city life experience tells us, *"the character of a place is defined as much by the environmental quality derived from the chance aggregation of different activities as it is by meticulous city planning and design,"* (IBIS). This intuitive reaction is formed from the experience, feelings and sensations we gather when we are in a mixed use town centre environment.

The proposition that such mixed use schemes can have a valuable contribution to town centres is based on the observations of attractive places which are intuitive and rational. Furthermore, PPS 6 and PPS 1 both indicate the positive contribution that mixed use schemes can make to the vitality and attractiveness of town-centre environments and the extension of housing choice and promoting sustainable modes of transport.

Planning policy has therefore placed a large emphasis on mixed-use developments within town centre locations as a form of sustainable urban regeneration. In conjunction with this initiative, the concept of a 'sense of place,' within development schemes is becoming increasingly popular, as a form of sustainable regeneration allowing the mixed use development to function successfully upon completion. The Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) indicates that this

recent policy initiative has an overall aim for, “...*well-designed, mixed-use developments, with the overall aim to establish strong communities,*” (CABE, 2007, Page 6).

The currently policy environment begs to question the promotion of such schemes; Do they hold the cultural priorities and lifestyle characteristics required to form coherent communities?

1.2 Key Aims and Objectives

1.2.1 Principal Research Objective

The overall aim of this dissertation will investigate the success of mixed use developments in achieving a community and a sense of place.

In order to fully investigate the aim of this dissertation, research will be undertaken in relation to a working case study of Paddington Waterside. Paddington Waterside has currently established itself as a premier mixed use development containing business, residential, retail and leisure all within central London.



(Source: Pictures from Paddington Waterside, Creating the Place, 2005, Page 8).

“The programme, which was part funded by the London Development Agency, aims to create an integrated development and generate a sense of place in a new location, one to which surrounding communities can belong,” (Emphasis added, Paddington Waterside Partnership, 2005, Page 6).

Four additional research questions have been identified and will be investigated further below in order to satisfy the principal research objective.

1.2.2 Additional Research Objectives

- Has a sense of place and community been established at Paddington Waterside?
- For residential areas, do mixed use developments provide a feeling of home within the community?
- Do the mix of uses at Paddington Waterside coherently work well together?
- Does Paddington Waterside fulfil the needs of the borough, meeting the needs and wishes of local residents?

1.2.3 Structure of Thesis

The dissertation structure will include 6 chapters in total. Chapter 2 will provide a review of the literature surrounding the rise of mixed-use developments within regeneration policy. Chapter 3 will provide a background to the developments achieved at Paddington Waterside. Chapter 4 will outline the methodology used to solicit the aims and objectives of this dissertation. Chapter 5 will outline the results obtained and provide a comprehensive discussion of the results alongside the literature studied. Finally, chapter 6 will provide a conclusion to the dissertation outlining the overall success or lack of success at 'artificially' creating a sense of place from the research undertaken.

2.0 Literature Review

This chapter will examine the existing research and associated literature regarding the 'sense of place,' within a development context. This appreciation of the literature will prove vital for analyzing the data and fully meeting the main research objectives to this dissertation. The literature provided in this chapter explores the development of a sense of place with regard to three main areas all in accordance with the objectives of this dissertation. Firstly, the definition of a 'sense of place' will be outlined, secondly the influences contributing to a sense of place will be indicated and finally, the importance of a sense of place within a development context is explored.

It is also appropriate within this chapter to highlight the literature surrounding the rise of mixed use developments as a form of urban regeneration. This will provide the context for the significance of 'place' within mixed use schemes in order to fully meet the needs of the research objectives of this dissertation. The objectives to this dissertation involve an interpretation of the literature regarding the success of regeneration at Paddington Waterside. In order to investigate this area it is essential that all of these areas are researched within the literature.

2.1 The Meaning of a Sense of Place

The concept of 'place identity' has been the subject of many empirical studies within a variety of disciplines. Most recently within town planning and land economics the concept of a 'sense of place,' has become increasingly emphasised within policy initiatives for, well-designed, mixed-use developments, with the overall aim to establish 'strong communities,' (CABE, 2007).

It is clear throughout the literature that there is confusion regarding the interpretation of 'place,' where there is a lack of a comprehensive definition, leading to differing interpretations. *"Part of the confusion about place is due to the fact that it does no lend itself to a definitive interpretation,"* (Arefi, 1999, Page 180). However, Arefi (1999) has

indicated that, "...place in genre is commonly reduced to the three elements of locale, location and sense of place," (1999, Page 180).

Stedman's (2003) article assess the various literature regarding 'place' and summarises this into his own definition where;

"Sense of place is therefore conceived of as encompassing meanings, attachment and satisfaction, ...Spaces become 'places' as they become imbued with meaning through lived experiences," (Stedman, 2003, Page 672).

As highlighted within the quote above, Stedman (2003) associates 'sense of place,' as 'encompassing meanings,' and most importantly 'attachment.' His article indicates that the majority of literature focuses 'place' as, "...products of shared behaviours and cultural processes," where place attachment is, "...a positive emotional bond that develops between people and their environment," (Stedman, 2003, Page 671). This definition appears to be the most commonly taken interpretation of 'place' throughout the literature, as such this will be the definition used within this dissertation.

The notion of an 'emotional bond' is reiterated throughout the literature with a '*focus on emotional attachment to place,*' (Arefi, 1999, Page 183). Earlier literature by Cuba & Hummon (1993) has defined 'place identity,' as "*An interpretation of self that uses environmental meaning to symbolise or situate identity,*" (Page 112). Here, it is explained that like people, things and activities, places are an integral part of the social world of everyday life, as such they become "...important mechanisms through which identity is defined and situated," (Cuba & Hummon, Page 113).

Historically, the literature acknowledges Gordon Cullen's work as fundamental to the contemporary concepts of urban design, where 'place' involved the 'visual and external appearance,' (Jive & Larkham, 2003). Here the transition to modern uses has been described by American landscape writer J.B.Jackson where;

"Sense of Place,' is much used expression, chiefly by architects but taken over by urban planners and interior decorators and the promoters of condominiums, so that now it

means very little....the current version relates to the 'atmosphere to a place,' the quality of its environment," (J.B.Jackson, taken from Jiven & Larkham, 2003,Page 68).

Nonetheless, given this lack of a comprehensive definition for 'place,' there is a clear presence of importance linked to 'place' and the development of a location through the environment. It is clear from the literature that 'place' is associated with 'attachment' to a certain environment where 'shared experiences deepen this bond (Stedman, 2003 & Hay, 1998). Such development of a 'sense of place,' is taken to be, "...of a benefit to individuals and modern society," (Hay, 1998, Page 5).

"...constituting a sense of place and of community has long been associated by architects and planners with something of intrinsic value, a public good that would eventually benefit society," (Arefi, 1999, Page 184).

2.2 Development of Sense of place

As indicated above, the literature has highlighted how 'spaces' can become 'places,' through meanings and attachment via 'shared experiences,' (Stedman, 2003). Hay (1998) has expanded on this where a sense of place involves, "...the sensing of places, such as aesthetics and a feeling of dwelling," (Hay, 1998, Page 5). Within Hay's (1998) article, he outlines residential status to particularly influence the development of a sense of place, where;

"if a person resides in a place for many years, particularly if that person is raised there, then he or she often develops a 'sense of place,' feeling at home and secure there, with feelings of belonging for the place being one anchor for his / her identity," (Hay, 1998, Page 6).

This notion is also reiterated within Cuba & Hummon (1993) article where their research at Cape Cod, Massachusetts found;

“Specifically, that demographic qualities of residents and interpretive residential affiliations are critical dwelling identity...Social participation in the local community is essential for community identity, and patterns of intercommunity spatial activity promote a regional identity,” (Cuba & Hummon, 1993, Page 111).

Twigger – Ross & Uzzell (1996) have expanded on this by identifying four criteria which form the context of ‘identity process theory’ in the development of place identity (1996, taken from Hay, 1998);

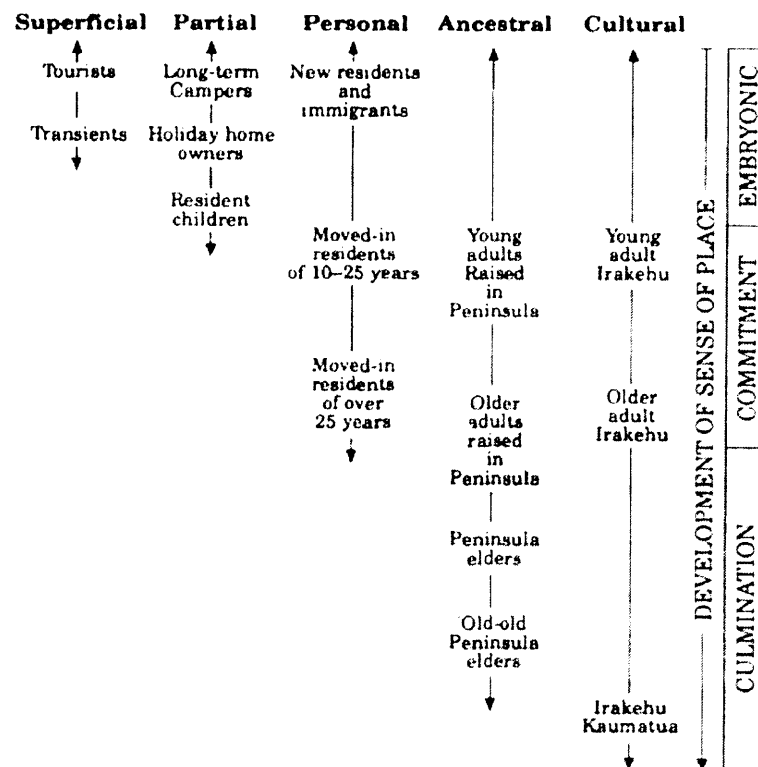
- 1) distinctiveness of a place,
- 2) continuity,
- 3) self-esteem (one’s association with a place), and,
- 4) Self – efficacy.

The literature has acknowledged that bonds can occur at particular places among those who move often, with evidence suggesting that daily or periodic contact with a place is necessary to maintain or even create a new sense of place (Cuba & Hummon, 1993). In this way a *‘partial sense of place,’* can occur where; *“...sense of place is only partially developed among part-time residents,”* (Hay, 1998, Page 11).

Hay’s article outlined the various influences on a person’s development of his or her sense of place, where this can encompass, *“...ones feeling for a place such as a room, office or home town,”* (Hay 1998, Page 7). Such bonds can also be established with areas that people may become ‘geographically’ familiar with, travelling to and from the same location (Kiven & Larkham, 2003). Hay’s (1988) literature has provided this within a diagram of ‘development stages,’ relating to the development of a sense of place and residential status. The residential status is provided with an ‘age stage,’ ‘life cycle’ and ‘duration of stay’ which Hay has indicated all influence the development of a sense of place.

Figure 1 Hay's (1998) Development stages of Individuals Sense of Place by Development

(Source: Hay 1998, Page 9 Figure 1).



The literature identifies 'Place making' as an important part of construction and preservation of the built environment, in order to enhance the identities of people as well as places. When visiting a 'place,' it is more than just getting there; visiting a place is an engagement, an encounter with others (Massey, 2007).

Doreen Massey (1996) has argued for a 'progressive sense of place,' which is seen as an important factor within new developments, where it is understood as a unique point within a wider series of flows (May, 1996). Within Massey's (2007) article 'Is the World Getting Smaller?' it is argued that, "*The changing spatial dimensions of human life and thinking are creating the need for a new imagination and politics of space,*" (Massey, 2007, Page 1). She fundamentally describes a 'place' to be, "...meeting places of different people, different groups and different ethnicities. In human terms they are the entanglement...of different histories," (Massey, 2002, Page 6). An earlier article of which her work builds upon, states that:

"No longer do we think of a place or region or nation as simply bounded territories with essential external characteristics which somehow grew out of the soil. Rather we (or many of us) now lay stress on understanding the identity of place as the product of its relations with elsewhere," (Massey, 2001).

2.3 Importance of a Sense of Place within Development Context

There is a clear policy environment surrounding urban areas to promote mixed-use development which create new 'places.' This has also been embedded within local policies. For instance the Paddington Special Policy Area (PSPA) within the Westminster Unitary Development Plan (2007) contains Policies PSPA 2 and PSPA 4 which aim for the PSPA to be an area of mixed use "...with its own character," (2007, UDP, Page 260).

However, Steadman (2003) has argued the presence of historical connotations regarding the development of a sense of place. Here, the relationship between the physical environment and its meanings are investigated, where his article asks, "...are we likely to attribute 'wilderness' meanings to a suburban shopping mall?" (Henderson, 2003, page 673). The very same concept can be applied to new 'mixed-use schemes,' and the development of an artificial sense of place of which the overall aim of this dissertation is investigating.

Prior to this Arefi, (1999) also highlighted this importance where, *"It is becoming increasingly important for urban designers and planners to try and grasp the peculiarities of place and non-place as they continue to coexist in our urban environment,"* (Arefi, 1999, Page 183). The influences towards the development of a sense of place have been highlighted within the previous section. This will prove important when assessing the success at Paddington Waterside in creating such 'place.'

In 2007 the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) published its 'Housing Audit¹,' which presented data from research over three years into the quality of

¹ CABE (2007) *Housing Audit: assessing the design quality of new housing in the East Midlands, West Midlands and South West.*

new developments. This surveyed findings across 33 new developments which concluded that, “...residents were overwhelmingly satisfied with their homes but much less so with their neighbourhood,” (CABE, 2007). Many factors contributed to the dissociation of new residents with their neighbourhood, to name but a few, this included; a lack of sufficient public open space / play space, unsafe layout for children and no distinct character (IBIS).

In summary CABE found that poor schemes were those which; “...failed to create a sense of place and have a weak layout and poorly designed and maintained public space if it was provided at all,” (emphasis added, CABE, 2007). As such, the importance of ‘place identity,’ within the built environment is increasingly becoming apparent. This notion has been placed within many national Government Policy initiatives, and thus many regional and local policies. Planning Policy Statement 1 states Local Authorities should;

“...promote mixed use developments for locations that allow the creation of linkages between different uses and can thereby create more vibrant places,” (Emphasis Added, PPS1, 2005, Paragraph 27 ii).

Graham & Healey (1999) have argued that emerging planning policies are failing to produce sufficiently robust and sophisticated conceptual treatments of ‘place’ in today’s ‘globalising’ world. They expand where, “...as a result, planners are having difficulty grasping the complex dynamics of contemporary urban change,” (Page 624). Where there is a growing concern that, “...in the last three decades has been the consequence of placelessness, inauthenticity, sameness and the standardization of land-scapes,” (Arefi, 1999, Page 184). Arefi (1999) article has further indicated the drawbacks in recent planning initiatives where;

“One of the major drawbacks of modern urban planning has been the design of places as detached islands of land uses improperly connected,” (Arefi, 1999, Page 190).

Arefi (1999) highlights that a major challenge to creating mixed-use is that the evolving environment is decreasing the meaning of place, where the, “...public realm is becoming

increasingly privatized, that is, being built and rebuilt by corporate values and capital,” (Arefi, 1999, Page 188/9).

“Globalization also has had major implications for the nexus between social relations and place,” where, “...globalization in general weakens local ties and fosters homogeneity and sameness based on the tenets of consumerism and capital mobility,” (Arefi, 1999, Page 190).

The literature reiterates the notion of ‘place affiliation,’ as an important part of a persons ‘attachment,’ or ‘home,’ (Cuba & Hummon, 1993). In this context place identities, *“affiliate the self with significant locales, bringing a sense of belonging and order to ones socio-spatial world,”* (IBIS).

CABE (2007) has indicated that the, *“ability of a scheme to create a Sense of Place greatly depends on the quality of the buildings and the spaces around them...so therefore needs a strong landscape strategy.”* In this respect it is all about character, identity and variety. CABE has been one of the formal consultees commenting on schemes at Paddington Waterside. The Design Review, published on 22nd March 2006 generally supports the developments. However, concerns were raised regarding the ‘public realm proposals,’ where, *“...much more work is needed in this area,”* (2006, Page 1). They further expand,

“The Greatest challenge is to make Merchant Square into a place where people want to live create a balance between corporate requirements and residential needs,” (CABE, Page 1, 2006).

2.4 History of Mixed Use Development

“It would be foolish to underestimate the task of mixed use developments, but, on the other hand short-sighted not to recognise the new opportunities which it presents,”
(V.Gruen, 1973 – taken from Rowley, 1996, Page 8).

Mixed use schemes have been well established in the United States since the 1960's. Here in the UK mixed use emerged as a notable concept in the early 1990's as previous to this 'interwar' era, planning was predominantly land use zoning. Mixed use was prominent within both 'This Common Inheritance,' white paper (Published 1990) and the Department for the Environment's 'Quality in Town Centres' initiative (1995). Today, mixed use has become intertwined within key national Planning Policy Guidance / Statements filtering to national and regional levels. The recently published Planning Policy Statement 6 'Town Centres,' (2005) promotes and encourages Local Authorities to recycle vacant buildings and:

"To deliver more sustainable patterns of development, ensuring that locations are fully exploited through high-density, mixed-use development and promoting sustainable transport choices, including reducing the need to travel and providing alternatives to car use..." (PPS 6, 2005, Page 5, Paragraph 1.5, Point 4).

Hoppenbrouwer & Louw (2005) have highlighted that in Europe mixed use is increasingly being seen as part of 'urban renaissance,' or the 'compact city component.' This was also noticeable within the British Property Federation research report in 2003 where mixed use schemes were identified to be able to deliver strong economic benefits to local and national economies, where;

"Current policy places mixed-use schemes at the very heart of revitalising town centres and other neighbourhood areas that are socially deprived," (Research Report for British Property Federation, May 2003).

The inclusion of mixed-use within urban regeneration initiatives has been a clear aspiration of central government for some time, where in 1995 John Gummer (Secretary of State for Environment) indicated;

"Too much emphasis has been placed on the zoning and segregation of land use...mixed use development should increasingly become the norm rather than the exception." (John Gummer, Speech, Commons March 1995).

Under the current framework mixed use development has emerged largely about creating neighbourhoods, regenerating urban areas and building 'places' rather than buildings. This can be seen within PPS1 and 6 as indicated within the previous section.

However, the literature lacks in providing a comprehensive definition for a 'mixed use development' in the UK. In the United States the US Urban Land Institute produced a 'mixed use development' Handbook in 1976. Within this publication mixed-use is defined as;

"Large scale development characterised by three or more significant revenue producing areas, with significant physical and functional integration of project components and development in conformity with a coherent plan," (US Land Use Institute, 1976).

It is apparent that a variety of definitions exist in the UK mainly regarding the scale of such developments. Rowley (1996) has indicated that, *"...the concept of mixed use development is ambiguous, multi faced, but is an aspect of the internal texture of settlements,"* (Rowley, 1996, page 86).

The property consultants Knight Frank, define mixed-use developments as *"Planning permission granted for a development with a mix of three or more uses under a single consent."* (Knight Frank, 2004). However, recent literature by Ricketts & Field (2007) defines 'large-scale mixed-use developments,' to comprise of three elements:-

- 1) large town and city centre developments comprising a mix of uses, often retail based together with other commercial and non-commercial uses and residential units above, commonly comprising a number of separate blocks,
- 2) tall buildings, often with a 'vertical' mix of uses divided floor by floor, and,
- 3) new sustainable communities and urban extensions to existing settlements.

The definition of Ricketts & Field (2007) above incorporates elements of the definitions present within the literature, with such examples abiding to their criteria within the publication 'Mixed use development, practice and Potential,' (March, 2002) published by the former ODPM. As such this will be the definition used within this dissertation thesis.

As demonstrated, mixed use is high upon the urban regeneration agenda within the UK. However, the literature contains a variety of criticisms towards this approach. Hoppenbrouwer & Louw (2005) state the concept, *"...is ambiguous in theory and practice,"* (2005, Page 967). Grant (2002) states that the notion and ideology of mixed use developments appear attractive providing an instrument to create and maintain attractive liveable and sustainable urban environments. However, she states such notion, *"...has become the mantra in contemporary planning, its benefits taken for granted,"* (Grant, 2002, Page 20). Ricketts & Field (2007) state the main challenge to large mixed-use developments is, *"...to deliver mixed-use schemes which work in terms of compatible land uses and residential tenures..."* (2007, Page 241).

Grant's (2002) article, explores the theory and practice of mixed use within the recent prescriptions of new urbanism, where she draws on experiences within Canada. In conclusion it is found that mixed use provides economic vitality, social equity and environmental quality, but, *"...it cannot readily deliver such benefits in a context where cultural and economic forces promote separate land uses,"* (Grant, 2002, Page 15). She describes mixed use to contain 'three conceptual levels.' Where to deliver such mixed use involves, firstly, an increase intensity of land uses with encouraging a mix of forms and tenures of housing, secondly an increase diversity of uses by encouraging compatible mix and thirdly, integrating segregated uses and overcoming regulatory barriers (Grant, 2002).

These critiques of mixed-use development are not new. As early as 1961 Jane Jacobs stressed that mid-century beliefs about mixed-use development and the zoning regulations that accompanied those beliefs, *"...stand in the way of planning that could deliberately encourage spontaneous diversity by providing the conditions necessary to its growth,"* (Jacobs from Tirrell, 2005, Page 3). Within Tirrell's article he expanded where urban spaces which lack this 'diversity of place,' are, *"...monotonous, experience congestion, and often do not fully exploit their economic and functional potential,"* (Tirrell, 2005, Page 5).

Ricketts & Field (2007) highlight, *"Given the current planning system, with its roots firmly in the initial Town and Country Planning Act 1947, was not designated for schemes of the nature that are currently being promoted,"* (2007, Page 242). They further state,

"Sixty years on, perhaps we are asking too much and perhaps there is a need for fundamental change," (2007, Page 248).

Grant (2005) reiterated this where he stresses, *"...mixed use promises economic vitality, social equity, environmental quality, but can't readily deliver such benefits in a context where cultural and economic forces promote separate land uses," (Grant, 2005, Page 15).* In this essence Ricketts & Field (2007) state, *"these characteristics call for a planning system which is sensitive to the need for scheme iteration throughout the application and construction process," (2007, page 242).*

Notwithstanding this, Grant (2005) does explore the associated benefits mixed use can bring. For instance mixed-use developments can create urban environments active at all hours, allowing, 'optimum use of infrastructure,' a mix of housing types can be available which can be provided nearer commercial and civic activities, and mixed-use also allows residents to, 'live closer to work and play,' (Grant, 2005). Rowley (1996) reiterates this, but indicates a careful 'time dimension,' is needed with 'careful management,' of peoples movement.

Tirrell (2005) has indicated that for mixed-use developments to be successful
"Developers and planners must ensure that mixed-use development, like any other development, is well-planned and fits in with the surrounding area," (Tirrell, 2005, Page 3).

Hoppenbrouwer & Louw (2005) have also stressed within their article the complications of such an 'ambiguous,' concept where the associated benefits cannot be delivered in context where, *"...cultural and economic forces promote separation of land uses," (Hoppenbrouwer & Louw, 2005, Page 968).* They further expand in stating that;

"Much of the reasoning behind mixed-use policies is aimed at meeting strategic goals and addressing regional and national issues," (Hoppenbrouwer & Louw, 20005, Page 982).

In this respect mixed use is used as a tool for government organisations to meet 'strategic goals,' and combat urban regeneration rather than creating places with a community and synergy that people would actually choose to live in.

Notwithstanding this Julie Eizenberg (from Tirrell, 2005) indicates that mixed use developments are the most functional form to inner city sites where they enhance the diversity, "*...mixed-use developments often provide a much different and more positive sense of place than areas that lack diversity of place,*" (Tirrell, 2005, Page 4).

3.0 Background

In order to fully understand the mixed use nature and development context at Paddington Waterside, an appreciation of the history to the area is provided within this chapter. Firstly, an overview of the planning policy context at Paddington Waterside is provided by assessing the various Westminster City Council Planning Policy documents. A development table is provided (Table 1) which indicates the status of individual schemes completed and due to come forward at Paddington Waterside, highlighting the mix of Use Classes they contain. Map 2 indicates the location of each scheme within Paddington Waterside. This background is essential to understand the context of the developments at Paddington Waterside, within a mixed use nature, therefore meeting the needs of the dissertation's objectives.

3.1 Policy Framework at Paddington Waterside

Paddington Waterside covers over 80 acres (an area the size of Soho) and is intended to total more than eight million square feet with an additional 1000 homes, with a total of 30,000 working in the area. One of the main aims of the Paddington Waterside Partnership is, *"...to develop Paddington Waterside and generate a Sense of Place in a new location, one to which surrounding communities can belong,"* (Paddington Waterside Partnership, Annual Report, 2006/07, Page 19).

"Paddington Waterside is unlike any other mixed-use development location in the south east, in that it does not simply involve one development but 13 separate schemes, all in different land ownership and driven by independent development funding vehicles, the very reason for Paddington Waterside Partnership existence," (Paddington Waterside Partnership, Annual Report 2006/07, Page 6).

The literature review has indicated 'mixed-use' regeneration schemes are being promoted as a solution to urban regeneration initiatives within city centre locations. It can be argued that this policy initiative is at its highest within London, given the geographical and economical factors it represents. The 'Spatial Development Strategy,' (London Plan,

2004) states that, “...within the Central Activities Zone and the Opportunity Areas, whenever increases in office floorspace are proposed they should provide for a mix of uses, including housing...” (London Plan, Policy 3B.4).

Doak & Karadimitriou (2007) describe Paddington Waterside as a “...large assembly of smaller sites with various owners and various users of the past present and future,” (Page 222), where its edge-of-centre location has ‘*excellent accessibility.*’ Doak & Karadimitriou argue that previous regeneration proposals for the area had largely failed at the ‘problematic stage,’ but this new wave of initiatives has received, ‘...significant motivation from local and central government,’ (2007, Page 224).

The Westminster Unitary Development Plan (UDP) adopted January 2007, is the most up-to-date planning policy framework for Paddington Waterside. The UDP has indicated North West of the borough accommodates high scores of deprivation, but the area, “...offers some of the largest development opportunities available in Central London at a strategic transport interchange,” (Westminster UDP 2007, Paragraph 5.1). The Council have identified the potential for a major new commercial development which could contribute to London’s; “...World City role and also form part of a balanced mixed use area,” (Paragraph 5.4). In 1988 the City Council designated the ‘Paddington Special Policy Area,’ (PSPA) around Paddington Station and Basin, which covers a total of 30 hectares (75 acres), Map 1 indicates the strategic location of the PSPA within Westminster.

Map 1: Paddington Special Policy Area (PSPA)

(Source: Westminster City Council UDP, Map 5.1)



In 1988 the Paddington Regeneration Partnership was formed to be interlinked with the PSPA. This partnership included private sector investors, landowners, and transport operators, with the intention to involve all stakeholders within the PSPA around the

railway station and canal basin (UK Parliament 3rd October 2007). The first phase of development within the PSPA was launched in 1998 and is known as 'Paddington Waterside,' of *"8 million sq ft of mixed use development, creating a waterside regeneration programme,"* creating one of London's major regeneration opportunities generating 30,000 jobs (IBIS).

The PSPA has an extensive planning history dating from 1991, for a 'substantial mixed use development.'¹ Since 1991 the area has been subject to major improvements of, *"...the public realm within the PSPA and the canal basin,"* where *"...the face of North Westminster has begun and is set to change dramatically,"* (UDP, 2007, Paragraph 5.5 & 5.7).

The Unitary Development Plan (UDP) acknowledges the fact that the area can provide; *"...an opportunity to spread the regeneration effects to surrounding areas,"* (Paragraph 5.9e). In June 1998 the Heathrow Express Railway (HER) began to provide fast trains to all four terminals at the international airport. Currently this service transports 5 million passengers a year and is expected to increase to 6 – 9 million with the opening of terminal 5. The PSPA also includes the Paddington arm of the Grand Union Canal which was formerly (pre 1991) inaccessible to the water area (UDP, 2007, Page 255).

The UDP has an overarching aim of the PSPA promoting a sustainable 'mixed-use development.' Policy PSPA 1 'Encourage Area-Wide Regeneration,' in fact, indicates that the City Council will work in partnership with appropriate organisations to ensure that,

"... planning and transportation benefits and impacts arising from the PSPA developments take account both of the needs and demands generated by different development proposals and also those of local communities including establishing effective links with wider regeneration initiatives in the surrounding areas," (UDP, 2007, Policy PSPA 1).

¹ Since 1991 planning permission has been granted within the PSPA for: - a) extension to the Metropole Hotel (20,000m²), b) 468 residential apartments at West End Quay, along with 2,205m² retail, c) the first two office blocks on the site of Paddington Goods Yard (43,058m²), also 6,500m² retail and 3,000m² leisure, d) 219 apartments in two residential blocks on the site of Paddington Goods Yard, and e) The Point and the Waterside office buildings on the north side of Paddington Basin (53,662m²) with 1,527m² retail (Westminster UDP, 2007, Paragraph 5.5).

Three further policies within chapter 5 (Policy PSPA 2, 3 and 4), encourage the development of the PSPA as an area of “...*mixed use, with its own character,*” (Emphasis added, Paragraph 5.33, emphasis added). Policy PSPA 2 ‘Ensuring Mixed Use Development,’ seeks to include a variety of office / business development, significant proportion of housing, retention and development of St Mary’s Hospital, retail and other town centre uses, new facilities for recreation and leisure, new social and community facilities and other uses appropriate to an area focussed on a strategic public transport interchange. These policies are all within an overarching desire to ensure a high quality sustainable environment, which is also highlighted within Policy PSPA 6.

2002 marked the completion of the first initial phase at Paddington Waterside, witnessing the arrival of new companies, employees and residents. A ‘Paddington Partnership,’ has been established which aims to create a sense of place in a new location and, “...*ensure that Paddington is not an island, delivering a range of projects and activities to promote a new community in a new location – thus activating the place.*” (Emphasis added, Paddington Waterside Partnership, March 2006, Page 6).

The following table (Table 1) provides the current development portfolio at Paddington Waterside and should be read in conjunction with Map 2, where each scheme can be located. This development portfolio is further expanded within an up-to-date schedule at appendix 1.

Table 1 - Development Profile at Paddington Waterside

Reference: Paddington Special Policy Area Factsheet August 2008 & October 2007, also conversations with Graham King (Planning Officer, Westminster City Council).

Site Number (as outlined on map 2)	Scheme	Mix of Uses	Status / Comments
1	West End Quay	468 Residential Units, 2,205m ² retail (A1/A2/A3)	Complete, Several retail units occupied (Tesco located at ground floor – 4 South Wharf Road) The majority of the residential units are occupied.
2	Paddington Basin Phase II	Comprised of five blocks (A-E). Occupied by commercial companies including Marks & Spencer and Orange	Large percentage of development is completed and occupied; the ground floor has planning permission for retail of use Class A1
3	Paddington Basin Phase III (Merchant Square) South side of North Wharf Road	March 2007, consent for two separate buildings. One for residential use the other for commercial purposes	Planning permission granted on all buildings at various times between early and mid 2007. All buildings are subject to separate Section 106 agreements.
4	Paddington Walk, Hermitage Street	Four buildings, varying in height, 232 units for residential, with retail and community use.	Residential section fully occupied, commercial section half occupied The construction has been completed and residents have moved in. The ground floor use commercial units are part occupied.
5	St Mary's Hospital	Part of the St Mary's hospital and Post office Draft Planning Brief.	Permission for outline planning permission granted in 2002; however the Section 106 agreement has never been implemented. It is intended the site will be developed for medical facilities in the near future.
6	Post Office Site	Improvements to Bakerloo Tube Line ticket hall and public realm.	Royal mail has recently closed, allowing development to proceed. Westminster City Council are awaiting the Planning Application.
7a)b)	Paddington Station and Praed Street	Paddington station is a listed building with refurbishments occurring throughout 2008	N/A The status for further developments have not yet been received.
8	Triangle Site	Planning permission includes 21,000 sq ft of retail and office space.	Planning permission revised in 2007 to incorporate more retail and office space. Hammerson withdrew planning application on 19 th June 2007 – it is likely they are waiting for crossrail to acquire the site.
9 (includes areas a - e).	Paddington Central	Establishment of mix of uses, includes 219 residential apartments (all sold) 95,000sq.ft retail, restaurants and leisure facilities on canalside. Retail includes health club, hairdressers, dry cleaners, dental surgery and restaurants.	The two office and two residential buildings with associated retail are all occupied.
10	179 Harrow Road	Predominantly for office (B1) use	The scheme is predominantly for office (B1) use.
11	Hilton London Metropole	Previous hotel extended to add conference facilities, now Britain's largest conference	The extension was completed in September 2000, creating Britain's largest convention hotel.

		suite	Extension provides new conference centre 328 bedrooms (total 1058) with car and coach parking.
12	Hilton London Paddington	Hotel extended in 2002, to include a casino, health and fitness centre and banqueting facilities.	Contains 355 bedrooms, 13 fully equipped meeting rooms, a banquet room, health and fitness club, casino and bar and restaurant. The major refurbishment was completed in March 2002.
13	55-67 North Wharf Road	Approval was on 10 th January 2008 to deliver 100 residential units, 16 are affordable, also 25,000 sq ft commercial floorspace, with creation of public realm, allowing 'permeability' to North Wharf Road.	The Section 106 is to be finalised.
14	Telstar House	The demolition of Telstar house and the redevelopment of 12,593 sq m office space, car parking, landscaping works in a new building.	108,000sq ft is occupied by Rio Tinto.
15	Eastbourne Terrace	Office space has been redeveloped and work is now complete	Completed and occupied.
16	Craven Road / Eastbourne Terrace	N/A	The application has been withdrawn.
17	Bishops' Bridge Road	Area has been identified to potentially service the station, as it has access to Platform 1.	To be confirmed.
18	Enterprise House	Site will accommodate the relocation of Great Western studios	An application for redevelopment is expected this year.
19	Dudley House	Former local authority flats to be redeveloped into residential scheme	The Draft Dudley House Planning Brief will be revised at the beginning of 2009.
20	Harrow Road	Creation of an access road to the southern end of the timber yard	As above.

The following chapter will outline the methods taken to meet the objectives and aim of this dissertation.

4.0 Methodology

To meet the objectives of the critical questions identified, the methodology used must be sensitive and flexible, which embraces the views and experiences of people in their own terms. This chapter will describe the processes taken to satisfy the aim of this dissertation, it will discuss why these methods were found to be the most appropriate and will finally critique the methods used.

4.1 Qualitative Data

Tesch (1990) has described how some of the types of social research can fall under 'qualitative' data, indicating how many of these share common elements to the approaches. In this way, Tesch (1990) broadly designates qualitative research into two categories. Firstly, "*A concern with meanings and the way people understand things,*" and "*A concern with patterns of behaviour,*" (Denscombe, 2003, Page 267). This research is therefore only concerned with qualitative research methods.

Primarily, interviews were the main methods used in this dissertation. Although, at the early stages of research a few short questionnaires were conducted to gain an insight into the main issues surrounding mixed-use development schemes. These questionnaires enabled the research to be refined and develop the core objectives, which could be refined through semi-structured interviews.

Five short questionnaires were completed in total, two of which can be found in appendix 2. This questionnaire was completed by planning professionals who all work within the planning arena. The questionnaire mainly focuses on what the individual considers mixed use to entail and requires them to draw on their own experiences. As highlighted within the research aims and objectives, the notion of 'mixed-use development' can mean different things to different people. The questionnaire therefore placed emphasis on the respondent's experiences within this area and how this translated to their definition of a 'mixed-use development.' All of the questions included involved qualitative data.

4.2 Semi-Structured Interviews

After undertaking the initial questionnaires it was decided that the research may benefit by gaining material which provides more in-depth insight into the topic, drawing on the information provided by a group of informants (Flowerdew & Martin, 1997). The research involved semi-structured interviews with local residents of Paddington Waterside, to investigate their personal experiences relating to the objectives of this dissertation. Interviews were also conducted with planning professionals who are involved at Paddington (both from the public and private sector) in order to explore their interpretation of the scheme. The questions undertaken when interviewing residents and planning professionals both followed similar formats.

“In depth interviews allow the researcher to probe deeply, to uncover new clues, to open up new dimensions of a problem and to secure vivid, accurate, inclusive accounts from informants based on personal experiences,” (Flowerdew & Martin, 1997, Page 122).

In total 15 interviews were conducted, 11 of these were of a semi-structure nature. An outline of the main themes/questions asked during the interviews can be seen in appendix 3 and the transcripts are provided in appendix 4.

4.3 Focus Group

A focus groups was organised with three members from the South East Bayswater Residents Association (Respondents A, B and C). Focus groups allow the topic to be directed around specific themes, allowing data to be gathered much more quickly than if each individual was interviewed separately. Also focus groups allow, *“a synergistic effect of the group setting may result in the production of data or ideas that might not have been uncovered in individual interviews”* (Kitchin & Tate, 2000, Page 97). The material generated in this way is detailed and multi-layered producing a ‘deeper picture.’ Focus groups yield qualitative data obtained from a relatively small number of respondents who interact with one another, (Eyles & Smith, 1998).

Table 2 - Summary of Interviews Conducted

Respondents	Organisation	Date	Interview Duration	Comments
A	Member of South East Bayswater Residents Association (SEBRA)	14 th June 2008	Interviewees A, B and C participated in a Focus Group. Duration – 50 minuets.	All participants live within close proximity to Paddington Waterside. All have been members of SEBRA for over 8 years.
B	Chair SEBRA			
C	President SEBRA			
D	Member of Paddington Waterways and Maida Vale Society (PWMVS)	3 rd August 2008	Duration - 45 minuets	Member of PWMVS for 5 years and resident at Paddington for 12 years.
E	Member of PWMVA	3 rd August 2008	Duration – 20minuets	Resident of Maida Vale for 3 years
F (MRTPI)	Employee of Martin Robeson Planning Practice (MRPP)	12 th August 2008	Duration - 30 minuets	Respondent F has had recent experience working on large mixed use schemes within Westminster.
G (MRTPI)	Employee of MRPP	25 th July 2008	Duration – 20 minuets	Respondent had visited Paddington Waterside on a few occasions
H	Employee of Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE)	20 th July 2008	Duration - 30 minuets	Design Review Advisor at CABE – London, has worked along the design review panel for schemes at Paddington Waterside
I	Planning Policy Officer, Redbridge Borough Council	18 th July 2008	Duration - 30 minuets	Planning officer for Redbridge Council. Also temporarily lived in Bayswater.
J (MRTPI FRICS)	Head of Development Control, Westminster City Council	10 th June 2008	Emailed questions	Interviewee J has worked on the PSPA for over 20years with extensive history of the area.
K (MRTPI FRICS)	Proprietor of Martin Robeson Planning Practice	15 th August 2008	Duration - 40 minuets	
L (MRTPI)	English Partnerships	15 th August 2008	Duration – 20 minuets	Interviewee L works for English Partnerships as a Development Control Planner for Major Planning Applications involving major mixed use schemes.
M Kay Buxton	Paddington Waterside Partnership	2 nd August 2008	Answered questions over the telephone, duration – 15 minuets.	Interviewee M is Chief Executive of Paddington Waterside 'Pride of Place.' Questions were answered over the telephone.
N (MRTPI)	Indigo Planning (Wimbledon)	10 th July 2008	Duration - 20 minuets	
O	Indigo Planning (Wimbledon)	8 th July 2008	Duration - 30 minuets	

The initially the aim was to complete around 20 to 25 in-depth interviews of around 30-40 minuets. However, it was felt a total of 15 interviews provided enough data. In

the case of qualitative research there is different logic for the size of the sample and the selection of cases to be included (Denscombe, 2003). The smaller sample size is still in-keeping with the nature of the thesis and the qualitative data. The identities of the respondents have not been revealed within this dissertation and have been left anonymous in order to protect their privacy.

The interviews enabled an opportunity for discussion when in some instances other examples within London were detailed by the respondent. This provided some useful information, but care had to be taken to check that all topics had been covered. After undertaking three interviews, it was found that the best way of keeping to the topic schedule, was by the interviewer defining a schedule of topics to be covered before the discussion began. This ensures both the interviewer and interviewee to understand the agenda of the discussion.

4.4 Passive Observations

Howard & Sharp (1983) have indicated that one form of data that can be gathered by the researcher is, *"...his or hers own research notes, which are worthy of more attention than they are often afforded,"* (Page 130). As such, Paddington Waterside has been visited on several occasions. These visits have enabled an essential insight into the areas function, and how popular it is at different times of the day. An initial site visit was conducted on Saturday 20th May at 3:00pm 2008, and a second site visit was undertaken Friday 26th July 2008 at 6:30pm. Photographs from both visits can be seen in chapter 5. As outlined in the literature review, the development of a 'place' has been seen to be more than just getting there, rather an engagement, or an encounter with others (Massey, 2007). It is therefore essential to undertake passive observations of the area at varying times of the day and week.

4.5 Critique of Methodology

Qualitative fieldwork employs participant observation in order to learn about people's habits or thoughts principally via observation, interviewing and documentary analysis (Steir, 1991). Whilst carrying out the research ethical dilemmas arose from competing obligations and conflicts of interest. Throughout the research an ethical approach was taken, all participants who completed an interview were indicated that all personal information would be confidential and any information used would be

treated anonymously. Whilst conducting interviews it was made clear that any information they provided may be used as part of the analysis to this dissertation.

One important aspect to consider at this stage would be the 'reflexivity,' the awareness of the researcher's contribution to the construction of meanings throughout the research process. Reflexivity then urges us to '*explore the ways in which a researcher's involvement with a particular study influences, acts upon and informs such research,*' (Nightingale & Cromby, taken from Steier, 1991, Page 77). Throughout the data collection process the research methods used operated on multiple levels, mainly being aware of the moment of what can influence our relationship to our topic and our participants (Seal, 2004).

This chapter has outlined the methods used to gather the data required to meet the objectives of this dissertation. Chapter 6 will outline the results and provide a discussion surrounding the main literature studied.

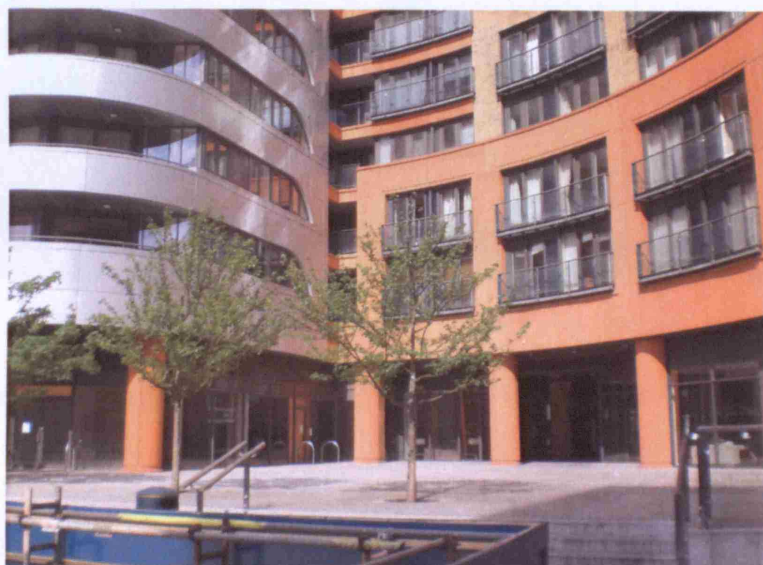
5.0 Passive Observations Summary West End Quay, Paddington

To fully meet the aims and objectives of this dissertation, two passive observation surveys were conducted to observe the activity with Paddington Waterside.

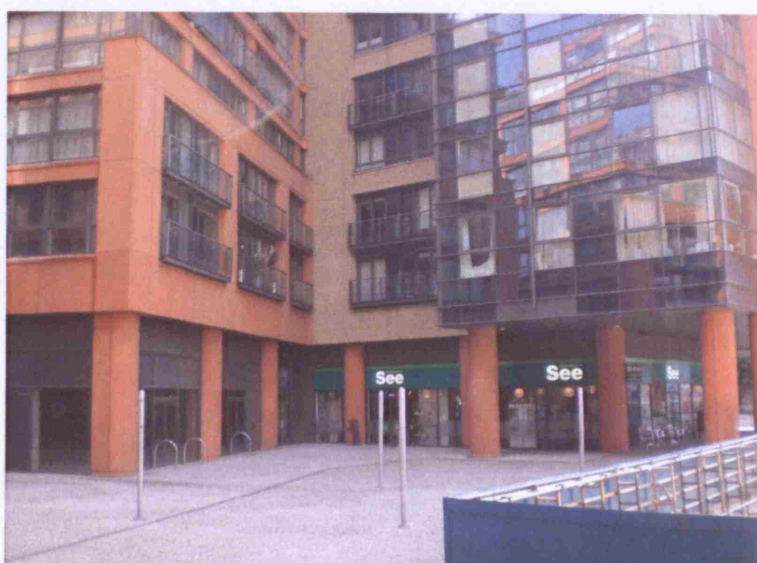
The following provides pictures taken at two separate days - Saturday May 20th at 3:00pm, and Friday 26th July 2008 at 6:30pm.

5.1 Saturday 20th May 2008

Picture 1 – West End Quay, Paddington Walk



Picture 2 – West End Quay, Paddington Walk



Picture 3 – Merchant Square Block C ‘Topez’ and D ‘West End Reach’ (Under Construction)



Picture 4 – West End Quay



Picture 5 – West end Quay, Paddington Walk (Drained Paddington Basin in foreground)



Picture 6 – West End Quay



Picture 7 – West End Quay, adjacent to South Wharf Road



Picture 8 – West End Quay, fronting South Wharf Road



Picture 9 – West End Quay – the Tesco Express here fronts South Wharf Road and backs onto the Basin area.



5.2 Passive Observation Summary

- Many of the retail units were closed,
- Restaurants and bars had tables and chairs available outside, area was very quiet,
- Restaurants and bars were not very busy,
- The Tesco Metro adjacent to Praed Street was fairly busy (footfall mainly from Praed Street),
- West End Quay particularly quiet – not many people around,
- The area was deserted.

5.3 Site visit Friday 26th July 6:30pm

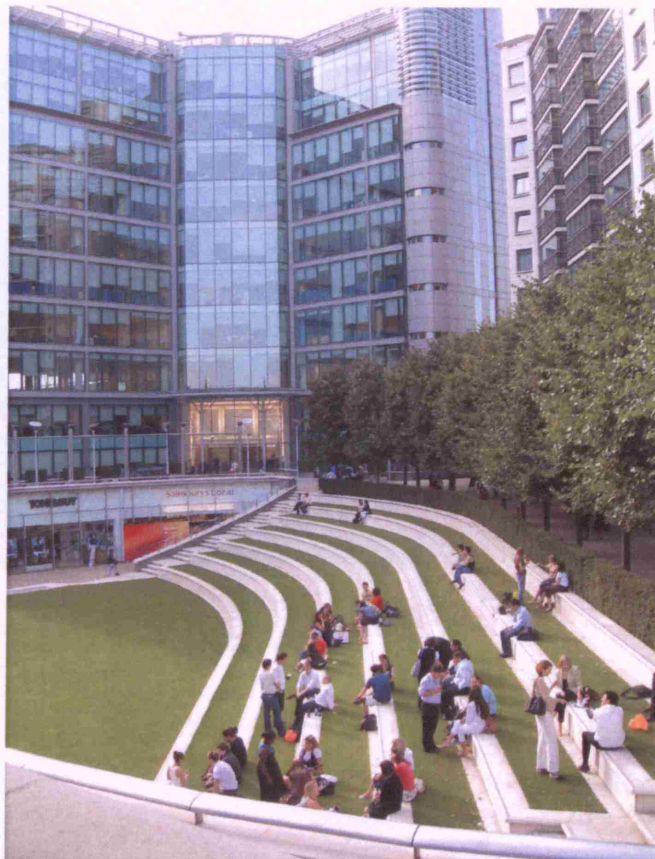
Picture 10 – Sheldon Square (Zizzis – Italian restaurant, Unit 2, Sheldon Square)



Picture 11 – Paddington Canal (North of Sheldon Square) (Marks and Spenser's headquarters building left of this photograph)



Picture 12 – Sheldon Square, 'amphitheatre' area



Picture 13 – Sheldon Square, Sainsbury's Local located at base of amphitheatre



Picture 14 – Sheldon Square – Phase 1 various office buildings (joint venture of Development Securities, Morley Fund Management and Insight Investment)



Picture 15 – Sheldon Square



Picture 16 – Sheldon Square, restaurants located north from the amphitheatre



5.4 Summary of Passive Observation

- Busier than on previous passive observation (Saturday 20th May)
- Sheldon Square had several people drinking/eating within the Square,
- Many restaurants were very quiet,
- A few bars had several people drinking,
- Lots of people were walking along South Warf Road and London Street (appeared to be walking to and from Paddington Train Station).

6.0 Results and Discussion

Given the scope of the aims and objectives of this dissertation, it is appropriate to provide the results with a discussion of the research undertaken. This chapter will highlight the results relating to the main objectives providing a comprehensive analysis of the data alongside the literature studied. To make this manageable, each research objective will be tackled in turn, in order to fully answer the aim of this dissertation.

6.1 Has a sense of place and community been established at Paddington Waterside?

The literature review (Chapter 2) has provided a section describing the factors needed to create a sense of place. The most commonly used definition by Steadman (2003) indicates that a sense of place encompasses, 'attachment, and satisfaction,' in this way 'spaces,' can then become places with meanings through lived experiences. Upon investigating the first initial research question, 'Has a sense of place and community been established at Paddington Waterside?' this definition has been borne in mind.

Within all of the interviews conducted, interviewees were asked if they thought such sense of place or a community had been created at Paddington Waterside. The interviews conducted have indicated a general consensus that no such 'place' or community has been established at Paddington Waterside.

Massey's literature (1998 & 2002) has placed an importance on areas to be 'meeting places,' which will contribute to the creation of place, "...places are meeting places of different people, different groups, different ethnicities,' (Massey, 2002, Page 6). In essence an area with an established sense of place would expect to see many people from different backgrounds in that area, using it as a meeting location. In accordance with the interviews conducted, the passive observations undertaken reiterate this lack in a community and sense of place.

The first of the passive observations undertaken (Saturday 20th May at 3:30pm) highlight how quiet the area is at weekends (Photographs 1 to 9). Many of the shops in and

around Sheldon Square and West End Quay were closed. Both the Tesco supermarket and Sainsbury's were open but had very few customers. Tesco was slightly busier, but seemed to be gaining this footfall from Praed Street rather than from within the Waterside area. Many of the restaurants were closed and those which were open had few customers, leaving many empty tables and chairs fronting the canal basin. There were many people walking along Eastbourne Terrace, with 66 people passing the southern exit to the station within 8 minutes. However this appeared to be used as a walkway to and from Paddington Train Station.

Similarly the second observation exercise was undertaken on Friday 26th July in the evening. On this occasion Sheldon Square was much busier, (see pictures 12 and 13 page 34 & 35) with many people drinking and eating within the 'amphitheatre.' A few of the bars had people drinking outside as it was a warm summer's evening. A selection of the restaurants had people eating, but none were full with many of the tables empty (photograph 10 and 16 page 33 & 36). Given that it was a Friday evening, the immediate impression of the area was dissipated with a lack of a community feeling.

The interviews have clearly established that Paddington Waterside has not currently created a sense of place or a community. The following quotes sum up the general feelings from the interviewees when asked if Paddington Waterside has been successful in creating a sense of place;

"...as a visitor walking around you don't really feel part of any strong sense of place or community..." (Interviewee F, 12th August 2008)

"No. I can't say I ever experienced any kind of community at Paddington Waterside,"
(Interviewee D, Maida Vale Society, 3rd Aug 2008).

"Sheldon Square is all a bit boring, if you go to somewhere else similar like Liverpool Street, that's more vibrant and more going on, champagne bars and things,"
(Interviewee C, SEBRA, 14th June 2008).

The literature review (chapter 2) has established that social relations that one experiences in certain locations are very important in developing one's sense of place.

Paddington Waterside has been witnessed with little occurring and few people around, this has also been acknowledged within the interviews. This lack of achieving a social relationship when visiting Paddington Waterside will have a detrimental impact upon an individual's sense of place to that area. Low & Attman (1992) have indicated that social relations can be as important along with the individuals 'attachment' to that area in developing a sense of place, "...the social relations that place signifies may be equally or more important to the attachment process," (Low & Attman, 1992). It is imperative that people must interact socially in locations to achieve and contribute to a sense of place. As such, the results indicate that this has not been established at Paddington Waterside.

However, it is essential to point out that the results have not dismissed the opportunity in creating such sense of place at Paddington Waterside. It was highlighted from the interviews that the development is still within its early stages and that in time a sense of place could be achieved. The interviews also acknowledged that the foundations to create such 'place,' are being established, mainly via the public realm, and that the area could hold the potential to create a sense of place, "...eventually they are going to have boats mooring there and things...maybe time will tell...but at the moment you can't imagine a community there," (interviewee B, SEBRA, 14th June, 2008).

It is also essential to highlight at this point that a few of the respondents felt that the area may not need a strong sense of place, given its location. It was identified within the results that the presence of Paddington Railway Station enabled residents who live within the Waterside to travel easily, allowing an easy commute at weekends to second homes, "...the development caters to the wrong types to create a place,...I mean everyone will be travelling out of London for the weekends...I can imagine...this won't help a sense of place here," (Interviewee F, 12th August, 2008).

In this instance the length of residence could be an important factor within the development of a person's sense of place. Riger & Lavrakas (1981) have demonstrated a 'dimension of attachment' where rooted-ness is influenced by the 'length of residence,' and the 'expectations to stay in the same residence,' (Riger & Lavrakas, taken from Hay, 1998). In essence, daily or periodic contact with a place is necessary to maintain a sense of place, if not it becomes 'nostalgic in character.' In this way Hay (1998) relates

this form as a '*superficial sense of place*,' which can be developed by temporary residents, or those new to the area, or even holiday home owners.

6.2 For residential areas at Paddington Waterside, does the mixed use development provide a feeling of home within the community?

As indicated within the literature, feeling 'at home' within the area a person resides, is fundamental in contributing to the creation of a sense of place. At Paddington Waterside, the area contains a high proportion of residential floorspace. It is essential the residential components within mixed use schemes allow for 'homes' to be established, thus contributing to a creation of 'place,' "*...the development of a sense of place is particularly influenced by residential status*," (Hay, 1998).

The results have stressed this importance of the residential element within mixed use areas as being one of the most important factors in contributing to a sense of place. Many interviews indicated that Paddington Waterside has not created a residential sector which provided the characteristics of a 'home.' Of the planning professionals interviewed, they all highlighted the importance of the residential element within such schemes, "*Within a mixed use scheme you want a sense of place, within the residential element, and specifically the residential units, the design should assist in creating a sense of home*," (Interviewee J, 10th June, 2008).

Many of the residents interviewed have indicated within the results that the residential sections at Paddington Waterside do not work well within the overall development;

"...but I'm not sure the affordable housing works well...because there's no play spaces and as we often say there's not a blade of grass in the whole development," (Interviewee D, Maida Vale Society, 3rd Aug 2008).

"The area is ideal for workers or people with second homes in the country, but not for families, to create a successful 'place' you need privacy, comfort, somewhere to be yourself with your family," (Interviewee D, 3rd August 2008).

The results have also highlighted one further important factor to take into account when considering the residential areas within Paddington Waterside, and the contribution this makes to the areas sense of place. It has been demonstrated that Paddington Waterside lacks in child facilities and family housing with the area generally unsuitable for families with children. This has been seen to be the biggest hindrance in developing a sense of place at this location. *"Families and a variety of ages are needed for the creation of a community...there isn't any family or elderly people at Paddington Waterside,"* (Interviewee D, 3rd August, 2008). The inclusion of families within developments, especially those involving housing has been indicated within the results as a vital component in establishing a sense of place.

However, it is also appropriate at this point within the analysis to add that a small proportion of the results have indicated that family housing may not be appropriate within this location;

"...but adding family housing would probably never sell in this location...I would imagine that it is more profitable to carry on the way they are, I mean...the area is perfect for young workers...that's why M&S and all those companies probably choose to locate there," (Interviewee D, 3rd August, 2008).

Such benefits have been highlighted within Grant's (2005) article where mixed use schemes can allow, *"...smaller, post-baby-boom households can have a greater range of options (rather than just detached homes),"* (Grant, 2005, Page 17).

However, despite the benefits such accommodation may be able to provide, there is an apparent recognition within the results that good designed family housing will help facilitate a stronger sense of place. In this way Paddington Waterside may never create an immensely strong sense of place given its lack of family provision. Cuba & Humman (1993) have demonstrated that 'dwelling identity' is critical to the development of a sense of place, where, *"Place identity usually associated with affiliations where people use places to forge a sense of attachment or home,"* (Cuba & Humman, 1993, Page 112).

6.3 Do the mix of uses at Paddington Waterside coherently work well together?

The results show a general conformity that the mix of uses at Paddington Waterside do not come together in a holistic manner. The literature has highlighted the ability of a scheme in creating a sense of place depends on, "...the quality of the buildings and the spaces around them," (CABE, 2007). Doak & Karadimitriou, (2007) have stated that the regeneration at Paddington Waterside has seen, "...each developer proceed with their own, constantly changing blueprints," where the constellation of actors and interests for the area, "was and is in constant flux," (2007, Page 224), this is seen to impact on the coherency of the uses working together.

Ricketts & Field (2008) highlight one of the major challenges for developers in delivering 'large scale mixed use developments' is "...to deliver mixed use schemes which work in terms of compatible land uses and residential tenures," (Page 241). This is reiterated by Tirrell (2005) where he states, "...developers and planners must ensure that mixed use development, like any other development, is well planned and fits in with the surrounding area," (Page 3).

The results have highlighted that generally interviewees felt that the uses promoted at Paddington Waterside do not work well together, "*The mixes don't work well their, there needs to be more low level housing, more grass and open spaces, but at the end of the day its near a train station which makes its very difficult,*" (Interviewee D, 3rd August, 2008). The fact that the area lacks in family housing provision and open spaces, were seen to be the biggest hindrance in facilitating a coherent mix of uses. Many respondents highlighted this point.

However, a range of factors were indicated to 'get in the way' of the uses coming together appropriately. The developments location near to Paddington train station was described by one resident as its '*own worse enemy,*' with regard to the ease of movement of people, this was described by the same resident to create a '*soulless,*' area at weekends (Interviewee A, 3rd August, 2008).

The results have also indicated that the lack of family facilities (which has been outlined in section 6.2) also inhibits the mix of uses coherently working together; *"...the mix of uses at Paddington Waterside don't work very well because the correct parameters were not used at the beginning and children and teenagers were definitely not included,"* (interviewee D, 3rd August, 2008). Similarly, links can be made here where Paddington Waterside has been catered for the employees of the area, which in turn will impact upon the development of a sense of place, and therefore the successful cohesion of all uses promoted their.

Again, as highlighted within section 6.2, many respondents felt that with time Paddington Waterside may establish itself with a community, where the uses will 'come together.' A couple of the residents felt that this could be achieved once the area had established itself in a few years. The associated benefits that mixed use developments offer were also acknowledged, *"...mixed use can offer a variety of benefits. For instance it can prevent ghost towns in city centres at night time. This will allow an area to be vibrant from early hour till late at night,"* (Interviewee F, 12th Aug, 2008). Grant's (2005) article outlined the time dimension needed to establish such large scale mixed use developments, where compatible uses which do not create conflict could, *"...enliven the area after work hours, creating new business opportunities,"* (Grant, 2005, Page 18).

It is important to note at this point that the results have highlighted that the retail provision at Paddington Waterside is similar to many other retail areas. In this way respondents commented that Paddington Waterside has not accommodated new or independent retailers, which was recognised to hold the potential to facilitate the area as a community which people would want to visit again and again.

"West End Quay has Tesco in as the main retailer, they need a high quality retailer to locate their, things like that would get the ball rolling, and attract new people...same with the restaurants, the ones their now don't really work, a good example could be Canary Wharf," (Interviewee N, 10th July, 2008).

Brown's (2006) article has indicated that, *"ultimately, well-designed retailers contribute to the sense of place and community and provide a memorable experience that leaves a positive feeling in the visitor or resident,"* (Brown, 2006, Page 2).

Overall, the results have indicated a poor connection of the uses at Paddington Waterside. This has been related to the developments early stages and the lack of family presence and the poor retail offer. However, Cuba & Hummon (1993) have stated that such mixed use schemes of *"...increased scale, density and heterogeneity of community life have weakened collective sentiments and personal attachment to locality,"* (Cuba & Hummon, 1993, Page 114). It can be argued here that the Developments at Paddington Waterside of increased density have fundamentally weakened the attachments to locality. Therefore Paddington Waterside may fundamentally have a weaker sense of place than development schemes of a lesser density or of single zone.

6.4 Does Paddington Waterside fulfil the needs of the borough, meeting the needs and wishes of local residents?

This particular research objective has received a mixed response within the results. There was an overall feeling that the regeneration of Paddington Waterside has been a good attempt at bringing a former inaccessible area back into use. It was also highlighted by a few respondents that previous to the developments at Paddington Waterside the area didn't fulfil any need to the borough anyway.

"It has brought back a Brownfield site into action, with attractive buildings and who knows in 20 years time it could be buzzing vibrant place everyone wants to live at,"

(Interviewee I, 18th July, 2008).

The results have indicated in all that the developments at Paddington Waterside have not generally contributed anything to the local residents within the area. However, within this notion it has also been acknowledged that nothing has been lost either, *"...the area was never part of the Bayswater or Maida Vale community really, so we didn't lose a section,...we could have gained something quite possibly, but we didn't lose much, but we didn't gain anything either,"* (Interviewee B, 14th June, 2008).

"No. I don't think they ever felt it was part of their community anyway, because it was separated from the Harrow Road...and the Paddington Station, the railway, it was always a triangular site which was never part of the site anyway," (Interviewee A, 14th June 2008).

In all, the responses have highlighted that the developments at Paddington Waterside don't contribute to the borough of Westminster, but do contribute to Central London on the whole. In this way many interviewees felt that the developments pursued at Paddington Waterside were not necessarily a reflection on the needs of the borough, but rather the needs of Central London; *"I think it fulfils the needs of Central London...and the economy as a whole,"* (Interviewee N, 10th July 2008). Recent policy initiatives, especially within Planning Policy Statement 4 (economic Development) and 6 (Town Centres) can witness this revived emphasis on inner city redevelopment involving higher densities of mixed use which will facilitate the local economy.

The Communities and Local Government's own Guidance, *Mixed Use Development, Practice and Potential* (March, 2002), states that mixed use, *"...also have a beneficial impact upon the economic and social well being of an area, enhancing viability and vitality, generating a strong sense of place and urbanism,"* (2002, Paragraph 5).

It is also important to mention at this point that many of the respondents felt that Paddington Waterside at this location didn't need to offer anything to the 'local area.' In this instance many respondents highlighted that no longer are inner city residents of London considered 'local.'

"I think it meets the needs of planning in sustainability terms...you don't need a car their...as for meeting the needs of the borough I'm not sure....but does the development need to?...no one is local anymore in London" (Interviewee O, 8th July 2008).

In this respect Ricketts & Field (2008) highlight that we may be expecting too much from mixed use, where; *"...perhaps we are asking too much,"* (2008, Page 248) where there is an uncomfortable fit between 'large scale mixed use developments and the UK planning system. In this respect, given the economic benefits Paddington Waterside is contributing to Central London, and the sustainable promotion of land use (i.e.

Brownfield redevelopment and reducing the reliance on car use), may be sufficient in terms of urban redevelopment. Many respondents highlighted that a major benefit of Paddington Waterside was the relatively sustainable manner in which it was being developed. Therefore, given Paddington's location, it may not need to contribute or meet the wishes of 'local residents,' given that the needs of Central London outweigh this.

The following chapter will summarise and provide the main conclusions along with relevant recommendations.

7.0 Conclusion and Recommendations

Can we artificially create a Sense of Place through Mixed Use Developments?

Before I divulge into the main findings of this dissertation I would firstly like to highlight the main implications of this proposal and suggest some possibilities for the future. Even with the initial first phase of Paddington Waterside completed in 2002, the data has highlighted that the development is still within the early stages. If time were no option, it would be interesting to conduct this thesis over a much longer time period, say 10 years. In this way interviews could be conducted periodically with residents each year to assess the development of his / or her sense of place. The literature has quite clearly indicated that the development of a person's sense of place is linked to his or her residential status and the duration of stay. It would be interesting to see how these bonds develop over the years.

The purpose of this dissertation was to discover if mixed use schemes can 'artificially,' create a sense of place, where Paddington Waterside was used as the working case study. Upon analysing the data received it would appear that currently Paddington Waterside lacks a 'sense of place.' However, the data has suggested that such sense of place can't be ruled out, where the developments have provided an attractive setting. In this way the results have indicated that the building blocks for a sense of place have been established. As many of the respondents indicated, it seems that such sense of place may take time to develop.

It was also highlighted within the results that the developments at Paddington Waterside have brought back to life a former inaccessible 'triangular site,' in a sustainable manor at a Brownfield location. It has also been demonstrated that the location has many physical constraints given its poor permeability to Harrow Road and Praed Street. In this way it was felt from the data that the developments haven't detracted from the community, but also haven't gained anything either.

There was clear recognition within the results that the area has and is being promoted for the workers at Paddington Waterside. Despite the benefits of this in sustainability terms, it was found that the lack of family housing and facilities for children was the biggest hindrance to the development of a sense of place. Paddington train station was seen to be the developments 'own worse enemy,' which allows the ease of movement of residents at weekends. A second clear factor to hinder the sense of place at Paddington Waterside was the retail offer provided there. Many comments were received that the area was being promoted like any other mixed use redevelopment within Central London.

This dissertation has raised some very interesting points. By tackling the initial aim of this dissertation, can we artificially create a sense of place through mixed use schemes? The data suggests that this is possible via certain mechanisms like good design, inclusion of family facilities and a different retail offer. This must allow the area to become a 'meeting place,' where one can 'share emotions,' (Massey, 2002). However, taking the case study of Paddington Waterside, the data clearly indicates that a sense of place has not been established at this location, and thus has not contributed to the immediate surroundings and communities. The data has outlined that this could be achieved given time. However, its location and proximity to Paddington station may inevitably always hinder the strength of Paddington Watersides sense of place.

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Appendix 1 - Paddington Waterside Regeneration Portfolio

Map of development areas within Paddington Waterside



Paddington Waterside Regeneration Portfolio with Photographs

"Paddington First hits a wonderful milestone in 2007, placing its 5,000th person into work," (Paddington Waterside Partnership, Annual Report 2006 / 2007).

Paddington Waterside Progress till 2007

(Source: Paddington Waterside Partnership, Annual Report 2006 / 07)

- Approximately 50% of development complete,
- More than 1.1 million sq ft of commercial space achieved,
- 30 new companies moved to Paddington,
- 7,000 employees to Paddington,
- 900 residential units completed (including 130 affordable homes),
- Local population increase of more than 2,000 since 2001.

Future Developments

- 2.5million sq ft of commercial floorspace,
- Set to provide more than 1,200 new homes,
- 30,000 people to work at Paddington Waterside.

Ariel Photograph of Paddington Waterside (Source: Paddington Waterside Partnership Annual Report 2006/07)



Key to Ariel Photograph

01 – Grand Union Canal
02 – Hilton London Metropole
03 – Merchant Square
04 – West End Quay
05 – Stone Wharf
06 – Paddington Walk
07 – Paddington First
08 – Waterside
09 – Paddington Central Phase 1 (Sheldon Square)

10 – The point
11 – St Mary's Hospital
12 – Triangle Site
13 – 55 – 56 North Wharf Road
14 – Paddington Central Phase 2 (Kingdom Street)
15 – Heathrow Express
16 – Paddington Station
17 – Telstar
18 – Hilton London Paddington
19 – Eastbourne Terrace

Development Profile

1. West End Quay (Paddington Basin Phase 1) 12-20 Praed Street and 2-5 South Wharf Road

Developers: 'West End Quay Ltd.'

Details: Predominantly a residential scheme of 468 residential units, with 2,205m² retail (A1/A2/A3) on the 2 acre (0.83-hectare) site. The scheme has three principal blocks with access available from Praed Street, South Wharf Road and Harbet Road, (once, previously inaccessible Paddington Basin). This area has achieved a range of building heights with the tallest complex known as Balmoral Apartments of 16 storeys (52m).

Status: The residential units and a number of the retail units on the ground floor are occupied. - A Post Office counter service is due to open in the next few months.

West End Quay (Drained Paddington Basin in foreground-Part of Merchant Square construction)



2. Paddington Basin Phase II - South Side of North Wharf Road (Phase II known as 'Grand Union.')

Developer: 'European Land and Property Limited'

Details: Scheme comprises 5 blocks referred to A-E, originally granted outline planning permission on 23rd April 2001.

Blocks A-C: Block A (known as 'The Point') is currently occupied by Cable and Wireless, Marks and Spencer, Cerner (healthcare firm) and Orange.

'The Point' (Block A)



The building includes 220,000sq.ft of lettable space over ten storeys in a '**wedge**' shape providing a gateway to Paddington Basin.

(Source: http://www.artofthestate.co.uk/photos/paddington_basin_the_point.jpg)

Blocks B and C: (The Waterside) is currently Marks and Spencer headquarters. The ground floor has planning permission for retail of Use Class A1.

Blocks D and E: 'The Windings,' is part of a revised masterplan for Paddington Basin Phase II and is now superseded by 'Paddington Basin Phase III – Merchant Square' scheme below.

3. Paddington Basin Phase III (Merchant Square) South Side of North Wharf Road

Developer: European Land & Property Limited

Details: Known as 'Merchant Square,' where masterplan includes part of Paddington Phase II site (the Windings/Grand Union as described above).

Original outline application in 2001 was for 6 separate buildings, one of which included 43 storey buildings. Criticism was received by Royal Park so reduced by 13 storeys. This original scheme was abandoned when no occupier could be secured for the 60,000sq m office buildings.

March 2007 secured consent for two separate buildings, one for commercial and the other for residential uses.

Status: Buildings D and E approved by Planning and City Development Committee at Westminster City Council on 1st March 2007. Buildings B, C and F were approved at committee on 7th June 2007 and Building A on 2nd August 2007.

This development will provide 554 new residential units of which 154 will be affordable, with 42% of the floorspace residential and 58% commercial.

All buildings are subject to separate Section 106 agreements, with further overarching agreements for buildings A, B, C and F.

Building A (The Blade): 43 storey residential tower; 219 residential units with ground floor class A1/A2/A3/A4/A5 units, ancillary basement parking, public viewing gallery, new bridge and associated works to Paddington Basin.

Building B (Azure) : 16 storey Class B1 office building, ground floor Class A1/A2/A3/A4/A5 units with a ground floor basement and ancillary basement parking.

Building C (Topaz): 16 storey Class B1 office building, with ground floor A1/A2/A3/A4/A5 units, public toilets, ancillary basement parking, new bridge and associated public realm works to Paddington Basin.

Building D (West End Reach) : 16 storey residential building, providing 196 residential units with 44 affordable, ground floor Class A units and B1 office suites and affordable business space.

Building E (Carmine): Commercial building over 15 floors with Class A uses at ground floor level and ancillary basement parking and a health club.

Building F (Waterweave): 16 storey residential building comprising 139 residential units with ground floor Class A1/A2/A3/A4/A5 units, child day nursery, ancillary basement parking, new bridge and associated public realm works to Paddington Basin.

Artists impression of Merchants Square

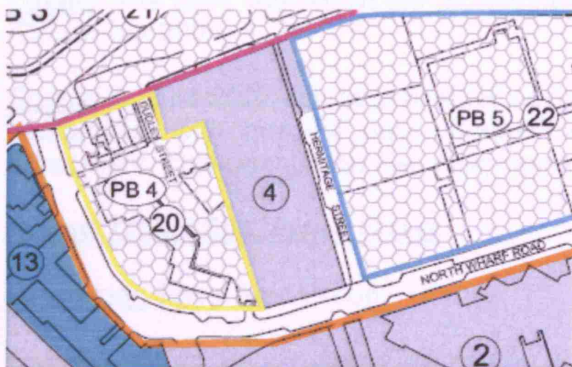


Source: <http://www.merchant-square.co.uk/Home.asp>



(Source: Paddington Waterside Partnership 2006/07)

4. Paddington Walk, Hermitage Street



(Picture Source:

<http://www.sabaproperties.com/images/propu/Marshall%20&%20Munkenbek%20Building/hermitage%20st.jpg>)



Developer: European Land and Property Limited

Details: The site is outside of the PSPA, linked via a legal agreement to the Paddington Basin (phase II), which has secured an element of affordable housing. Scheme comprises four buildings varying in height, 22 – 40m (11 to 15 storeys) for 232 residential units (79 affordable) retail / restaurant / café and community uses. Scheme is recognisable by curved balconies.

Status: Construction has been completed on this site and residents have moved in, however the ground floor commercial units are only part occupied.

5. St Mary's Hospital (Paddington Health Campus) St Mary's Hospital and land bounded by Praed Street, Paddington Basin and London Street

Developer: St Mary's NHS Trust.

Details: The sites falls within the 'St Mary's Hospital and Post Office' draft planning brief (December 2004).

Status: August 2002 saw approval for outline planning permission for redevelopment in conjunction with hospital uses, subject to the completion of a Section 106 legal agreement. This permission was never implemented.

6. Post Office Site, Praed Street

Developer: Royal Mail Group

Details: Within Paddington Station and Environs draft planning brief (adopted April 2008).

The Councils aspirations aim to secure: -

- *A new Bakerloo line ticket hall and platform access at the ground and basement levels,*
- *Improvements to public realm at London Street and installations of access ramps.*

Status: Royal Mail proposes to close the facility at the end of 2008 making the site ready for development (the distribution office will not be replaced).

7a & 7b - Paddington Station and Praed Street

Developer: Network Rail

Details: Paddington Station is a Grade I listed building with listed buildings refurbishment occurring throughout 2008.

Paddington Station and Heathrow Express

(Source: <http://london2005.medialint.com/PaddingtonStation.jpg>)



8. Triangle Site – Hammerson



Developer: Hammerson

Details: Site is to the south of Paddington Station, south of Bishops Bridge Road known as the 'triangle site.'

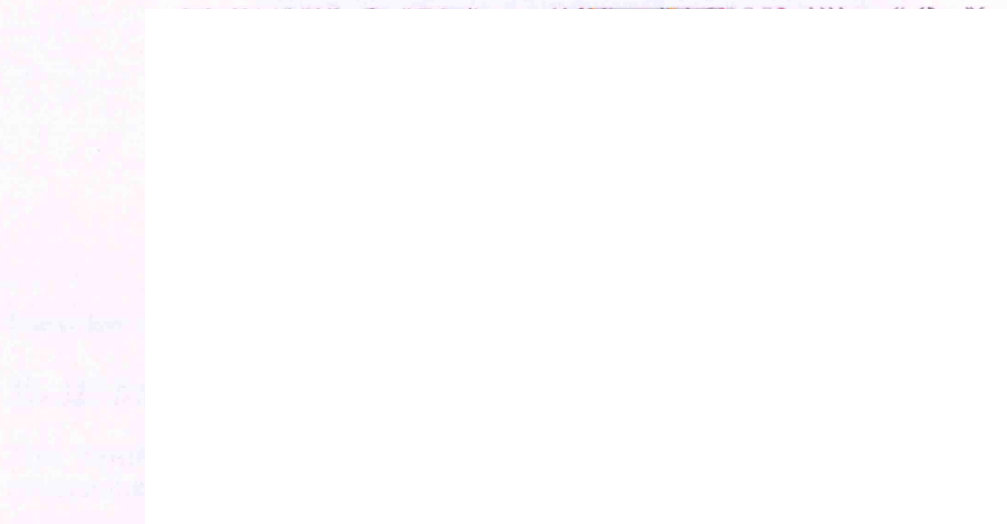
Status: revised planning application March 2007 includes 210,000sq.ft net office and retail space.

The below photograph provides an artists impression of the completed scheme at the Triangle site.



(Source: http://www.paddingtonwaterside.co.uk/images/the_partnership/partners/pa_hammerson.jpg)

9. Paddington Central - Paddington Goods Yard, Bishops Bridge Road



Developer: Phase 1 was a joint venture between development Securities, Morley Fund Management and Insight Investment.

Details: Located on the former goods yard site, with development divided up into three phases of development.

Status: Phase 1 includes two office and two residential buildings with associated retail. Phase 2 incorporates 'One Kingdom Street' a 25,000 sq ft net office building which was completed in Feb 2008. Construction is underway on a 206 bedroom 4* hotel which has been recently completed in July 2008, let to the Accor Group. Two Kingdom Street includes a 250,000sq ft net office building which incorporates 25,000 sq ft B1 commercial / small business space.

Planning consent is currently undergoing for 2 Kingdom Street by Development Securities for the potential of a further 250,000sq ft commercial space.

Sheldon Square and 2 Kingdom Street in Background



(Source: http://farm2.static.flickr.com/1233/1292112560_debfl1eb344.jpg?v=0)

10. 179 Harrow Road

This former railway depot was purchased by Monsoon Group in 2000. The scheme is predominantly for office use (B1).

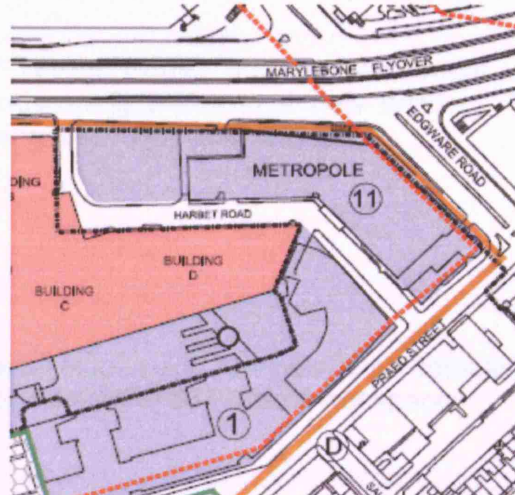
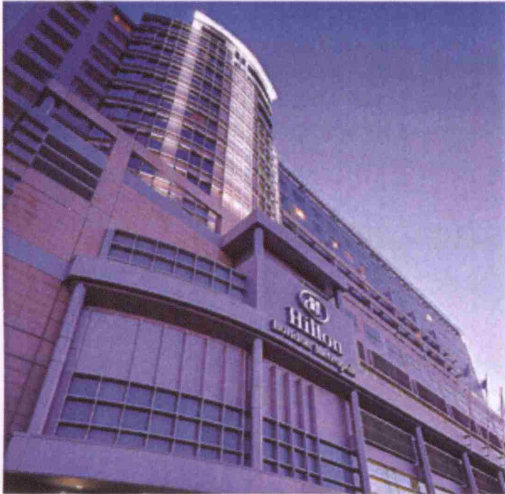
11. Hilton London Metropole

Developer: Hilton London Metropole

Details: Hotel was extended to provide a new conference centre, 328 bedroom (total of 1058) with car and coach parking facilities. The extension was completed in 2000 making it Britain's largest convention hotel.

Hilton London Metropole

(Source: <http://monogramstravel.com/Common/Images/Hotels/hiltonmetroexterior.jpg>)

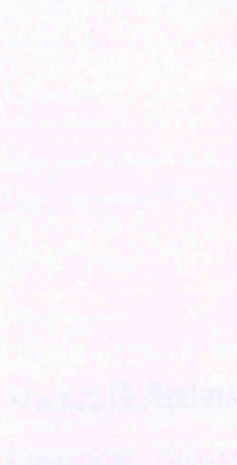


12. Hilton London Paddington

Developer: Hilton London Paddington

Details: Hotel has undergone refurbishment since 2002 and currently facilitates 355 bedrooms, 13 fully equipped meeting rooms, a banqueting room, health and fitness club, casino and original bar and restaurant. The casino was permitted in 2006 on part of the basement and ground floor of the hotel.

13. 55-67 North Wharf Road



Details: The existing 1960's multi occupied office has been redeveloped to comprise 250,000sq ft net and 102 residential units. A public realm is being created, which will

enable permeability with North Wharf Road, towpath and pedestrian access to Bishops Bridge Road.

14. Telstar House, 1-6 Eastbourne Terrace

Developer: 'Derwent London.'

Details: Scheme includes the demolition of Telstar House and redevelopment with 12,593 sq m for offices car parking and landscaping works in a new building. The construction is completed and occupation commenced in October 2007.

15. 10 – 30 & 40 Eastbourne Terrace

Developer: Land Securities

Details: This former office building has been redeveloped and has now been completed. Number 10 has incorporated a new commercial scheme of 66,000sq.ft net space.

16. Craven Road / Eastbourne Terrace

Developer: Land Securities

Details: Site falls within the 'Paddington Station and Environs' planning brief (adopted April 2008).



17. 4 – 18 Bishops' Bridge Road

Developer: Crossrail

Details: Site is included within the 'Paddington Station and Environs' Planning Brief (April 2008). 4 – 17 Bishops Bridge Road was identified as the site to service the station as this has direct access to platform 1. [STATUS]

18. Enterprise House



Developer: Spacia (Managing agent)

Details: Site is within the 'Paddington Station and Environs' planning brief (April 2008). 'Enterprise House,' will accommodate the relocation of Great Western Studios (currently located at Paddington New Yard W9).

Received support from Westminster City Council as delivering more affordable business space in the NWWSPA. Funding has been made available through the Civic Enterprise Fund for some potential affordable business projects. NWWSPA seeks to encourage commercial activity within this part of the city.

Surrounding Sites

19. Dudley House (139 – 147 Harrow Road)

A former local authority five storey (1937) flats to be redeveloped into a residential scheme.

20. 149 – 157 Harrow Road (Travis Perkins)

This small site of 10m strip has been committed to provide vehicular access to the southern end of the timber yard.

The remainder of the site is being incorporated within a planning brief which includes the loss of some strategic planting and open space, and the upgrading and enhancement of nearby open space and underused land.

Interview questions

Planning Policy within the UK does not contain a comprehensive definition for mixed-use developments. What do you understand mixed-use to mean?

A site which (almost) completely caters to the needs of those that live there. This includes providing space for work, leisure, shopping, industry, public/community space, etc. ~~It should help people live + work in a smaller area.~~ It should help people live + work in a smaller area.

From your experience, what elements do you think are necessary to make a successful mixed-use scheme?

A clear understanding of how different uses relate to each other from an expert/consultant perspective, as well as an understanding of how people currently live/work in the nearby area surrounding the site.

The Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) can make representations towards large mixed-use regeneration projects. Some projects have received criticism relating to the various 'uses' lacking in forming a 'significant,' whole. CABE has indicated this can be rectified via a significant 'public realm.' What elements are considered the 'public realm,' within this context? (E.g. public art, open space etc).

Space that unifies the development ~~into~~ aesthetically. This could be as simple as decorating each street corner w/ flower boxes or coordinating colour schemes on buildings/doors. ~~Public realm~~ A significant public realm seems to be one that if you didn't live there and walked onto the site you would think of it as one unified area.

Mixed-use development is high upon the planning policy agenda. In your experience what benefits have mixed-use schemes offered? And who do you feel is the main recipient of these benefits? (E.g. Local Authority, Land owner, public, resident/tenant within the development).

Benefits of mixed use schemes is reduction in travel ^{distance} time for those living there. ~~But a lot of times the main benefit is the fact that it is a mix of uses.~~

Within your experience what obstacles/constraints have you experienced with mixed-use developments? (In relation to delivering the scheme)

NA.

In your experience, to what extent has mixed use development reflected the wishes or lifestyles of residents within inner urban areas?

NA.

How important is it to create a 'sense of place,' within regeneration schemes of inner city areas? Do you think it should be a priority?

Very important. However as soon as you create that 'sense of place' there's a chance property ~~value~~ value could appreciate & gentrify the area.

In your opinion, what are the most important factors in creating a 'sense of place'?

Involving those who live there in order to find out what ^{history} ~~meaning~~ the place has to them so ~~that~~ you can use that as a basis for further place-making.

Paddington Waterside (Please continue, if you have visited Paddington Waterside).

Have you visited Paddington Waterside in the last 2/3 years? If so, do you feel the area has been a successful use in regeneration terms? Do you think a neighbourhood has/is being created? If so, how?

Do you think the regeneration within the Paddington Special Policy Area (Paddington Waterside) fulfils the needs of the Borough?

Thank you for taking the time to fill out my questionnaire.

Interview questions

Planning Policy within the UK does not contain a comprehensive definition for mixed-use developments. What do you understand mixed-use to mean?

Simply more than one use.

From your experience, what elements do you think are necessary to make a successful mixed-use scheme?

Active ground floor frontages (Retail, cafes etc).

Any mix of main uses. Residential helps prevent 'ghost towns' at night.

The Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) can make representations towards large mixed-use regeneration projects. Some projects have received criticism relating to the various 'uses' lacking in forming a 'significant,' whole. CABE has indicated this can be rectified via a significant 'public realm.' What elements are considered the 'public realm,' within this context? (E.g. public art, open space etc).

All open areas (at ground floor level predominantly).
~~Squares~~ Squares for instance maybe on private land, but still form the public realm.

Mixed-use development is high upon the planning policy agenda. In your experience what benefits have mixed-use schemes offered? And who do you feel is the main recipient of these benefits? (E.g. Local Authority, Land owner, public, resident/tenant within the development).

- Prevention of 'ghost towns' in city centres at night time. Allows an area to be vibrant from early hours to late night.
- Public to benefit predominantly.

Within your experience what obstacles/constraints have you experienced with mixed-use developments? (In relation to delivering the scheme)

Councils insistence on the inclusion of 'community' uses.

Getting the right mix (amount) of uses.

In your experience, to what extent has mixed use development reflected the wishes or lifestyles of residents within inner urban areas?

It has met it entirely.

Perhaps there is a government agenda ~~to~~ ~~also~~ for mixed use developments to reduce travel times for commuting workers.

How important is it to create a 'sense of place,' within regeneration schemes of inner city areas? Do you think it should be a priority?

Entirely necessary, though a very hard issue to address.

In your opinion, what are the most important factors in creating a 'sense of place?'

a comprehensive / holistic mix of uses. Also public realm which people can use effectively.

Paddington Waterside (Please continue, if you have visited Paddington Waterside).

Have you visited Paddington Waterside in the last 2/3 years? If so, do you feel the area has been a successful use in regeneration terms? Do you think a neighbourhood has/is being created? If so, how?

Do you think the regeneration within the Paddington Special Policy Area (Paddington Waterside) fulfils the needs of the Borough?

Thank you for taking the time to fill out my questionnaire.

Appendix 3 - Main theme of questions for Interviews

- 1) Highlight his or her experience with mixed use schemes,
- 2) Has the regeneration of Paddington Waterside been a success?
- 3) Does the mix of uses work well together?
- 4) Is the area catering for local residents to the area?
Does this meet the need or wishes of local residents?
- 5) What factors are important in creating a sense of 'place' or home?
Has this been achieved at Paddington Waterside (particularly within the residential element?)
- 6) What attracts those to live at Paddington Waterside?
- 7) Does the regeneration of Paddington Waterside cater for families?

Appendix 4 Interview transcripts

Focus Group – Respondents A, B and C. Members of South East Bayswater Residents Association (SEBRA) – 14th June 2008

Attendees: - Charlotte Greenway

Interviewee A

Interviewee B

Interviewee C

Hello all thank you for participating in a focus group for my dissertation. As I have mentioned my dissertation is researching the effectiveness of 'mixed use' developments. I am using the example of Paddington waterside and exploring its success in creating a 'place' or a 'community...'

So as a way to start things off, do you think the area has been a success so far?

A- ...Well I think it's a little too early to say...the area is very cold and unwelcoming. Maybe when it's finished it will be better? ...You can't imagine at the moment that there's ever going to be a community there.

C - Yeah, I agree ...it's certainly very attractive. They have been creative with the start of Merchant Square making that 'bath' and 'plug' sculpture whilst construction is going on...But as A said you can't imagine a community just yet.

Yeah,...I see, do you think that the mix of uses work well together there?You know the mix of housing, residential, commercial, retail etc?

C - Well, to a degree, but I'm not sure the affordable housing works well...Because there's no play spaces and as we often say there's not a blade of grass in the whole development.

B - And no facilities for families. And even with the flats that are there you're not sure if the entrance is one to an office block or flats...Oh, West End Quay which fronts Praed Street...you've got lots of flats, which were sold off plan and let for 'short-lets,'

and many of the other flats, in Sheldon Square...it appears that companies own them, which they use as a London base for there office staff.

A - The area is landscaped and has some attractive scenery but,...as you say...there's no grass. It's not particularly child friendly.

Yeah, you get that feeling from wondering around-especially with Paddington Train station so close and the quick links to and from London.

A - It would be interesting to get hold from the Council their ratings for the residential units here....I bet a large proportion would be to the office worker or office facilities.

C - Yeah....and I bet the majority of them are empty at weekends, main holidays, Christmas, Easter, Bank holidays you know.

A – That's probably its own worst enemy. The train station that is.

I was about to ask if you think the regeneration scheme delivered so far is catered for the workers, or for local residents or families?

A - What, the development?

Yeah, you've already mentioned it's not child friendly...

A - No, it caters for the people who work there.

B - Yeah, small apartments,...with 1 or 2 bedrooms, it's definitely for the workers who have expensive wages and can afford to sleep in these apartments a few nights a week.

A - I don't know I could be wrong, not knowing the figures, but how much of the work force is local?....Or how many comes into Paddington Station? From the suburbs, out west where the housing is cheaper?...You know,...areas like, Aylesbury, Reading....etc. I suppose in a way the Paddington Train Station is the developments problem.

Do you think the regeneration of Paddington Waterside reflects the desires and wishes of local residents near by?...In general?

A - No. I don't think they ever felt it was part of there community anyway,...because it was separated from the Harrow Road-you know it used to be there with the A4 which they've demolished now.

C - And the Paddington Station, the railway, it was always a triangular site which was never part of the site anyway. I think this development has been done for new habitants for the area...It appeals to those new to west London, or Westminster. There is no such thing as a local resident in Central London anymore!

Right...yeah, I see..

A - I mean... the area was never really part of the Bayswater or Maida Vale community really. So we didn't lose a section...we could've gained something quite possible,...but we didn't lose much. But we didn't gain anything either. I would say most of the members of Bayswater Residents Association have never been to walk around Paddington or even though the Paddington Waterside.

B - They offer walks the partnership you know, but what's the point of that?

A - I bumped into someone the other day who was out walking their dog and they had lived here years and they never knew it was even there.

C - Paddington Waterside is a bit of a no mans land between several residents associations...I have been to the pub and to some of the restaurants, and there is certainly a lively after work scene, but I doubt much of a community has developed yet.

Yeah, I visited last night, around 6:15pm and there are parts of the canal which aren't pedestrian friendly...

A - Yes and the cyclist knock you down too!

C - Sheldon Square is all a bit boring, if you go somewhere else similar like Liverpool Street, that's more vibrant and more going on, Champagne bars and things

So when thinking of a sense of place or 'home,' what do you think are the most important factors to create that?

B - Erm...well a school I think is very important...A play ground and a doctor and you know local shops-None of which exist in Paddington!

A - It doesn't does it? An area of that size...you also need a local High Street,...that's very important. Or, a Post Office, that's a good one...Mind you the Post officer at Paddington is moving to that West End Quay. Maybe that will make a difference.

B - That's mentioned this in the newsletter I provided you with...we also mention within that newsletter the need for a bus stop to Paddington.

C - Personally, I also think individual, different retailers are important...there's a Tesco there and a Sainsbury's, Pizza Express, Zizzis all the usual's...I think home incorporates individual associations, I prefer to shop and dine in individual retailers, different ones I've not really come across before.

So for the residents who live there at the moment, what do you think attracts people to live there? Or keep them there?

A - Well I'm not too sure...they probably bought there to make some money, you don't buy property anymore, you buy for an asset-that's the world we live in...they probably bought it because it's an easy place to get to...and an easy place to get out of. I.e. the station or Heathrow via the Heathrow express...I don't think people choose to live there because its Paddington...And Praed Street is not one of the most dismal streets in London.

B - They were probably sold off the sheet,...you know glamorous drawings....artist impression of the canal etc,...because eventually they are going to have boats mooring there and things....maybe time will tell...Graham King has probably said that in 10 years it will be fantastic?!

Yes, he did actually within his interview....

A - It's a very convenient location, and if you can afford an apartment there it is a very good location in central London...If you worked there too, that would be a bonus,...you would live above where you work.

I was going to ask if you think the area caters for families, but I think we may have covered it...

A - Well it hasn't catered for young families that for sure...it may have catered for families with kids growing up because they will be gone...and this is a good place to visit. No I don't think....I was told by developers they prefer to build...they don't mind being forced to build larger flats....because cost per square ft you'll get more because you haven't got to have lots of corridors, 20 kitchens...so having much more square ft to sell...But the big flats I don't think families buy them, rich people do, where the dining room and living room could have been a bedroom. And the spare on suit...I don't think anyone with three kids would buy there. And there's no good state or private schools near...you wouldn't buy in Paddington for a good school or even good sports facilities...You buy because you can get a train into there.

C - Yeah it would be a perfect location of newly weds,...near bars and restaurants. But you couldn't take or start a family there.

The Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) has provided guidance which states that to make a scheme successful in creating a 'place,' it must have a significant 'public realm,' What do you think contributes to the public realm?

B - Well firstly I think the 'public realm' always looks good on architect's drawings,. ...and they try to create a public realm which is manageable with CCTV,...and easy to sweep. They have attempted this in Sheldon Square, with that thing which looks like an arena,...for music festivals and the like-but it hasn't quite come off, the shops have never been successful-at the bottom, again it's a bit sterile.

A - When I think of the public realm I understand it to be open space / areas, public benches...everything the public can walk around and use and appreciate.

Yeah. I see.

Well that just about covers all of the questions I wanted to ask, thank you for this focus group.

Main themes from Focus Group (Interviewee A, B and C)

- A) Early stages of development at Paddington Waterside – a community may take a few more years to develop,
- B) Commercial, leisure and retail activities work well together,
- C) The Residential elements doesn't work their, especially the affordable housing,
- D) Lack of family facilities in the area, this will inhibit the development of a 'place,'
- E) Biggest factor in obstructing a sense of place to be developed is Paddington Train Station,
 - a. Excellent transport links,
 - b. Allows easy movement for workers at weekends.
- F) Residential aimed for the workers, likely to live in the area Monday till Thursday.

Interview D – Member of Paddington Waterways and Maida Vale Society. (Resident of Maida Vale for 15 years). 3rd August 2008.

Hi, thank you for your time,...I appreciate any information you can provide. As outlined from my earlier email correspondence, my dissertation is researching the success of Paddington Waterside in creating a 'place.' Gaining an insight from local residents will prove vital in analysing the information received.

When you think or hear of a mixed use development, what do you understand this to be?

Well,... I think this would be a mixture of both state and private elements.

Providing, a mix of facilities...Suppose it's somewhere you can live work and play in the same area.

Do you think the regeneration of Paddington Waterside has been successful so far?...if not...then, why do you think it hasn't worked?

Well, there is certainly a lot for single people to do,...you know those with no children.

But its not successful for families, there's nothing for children to do their, and there is no garden spaces for the apartments.

What do you think hasn't worked? Or been successful?

Mainly the lack of provision for children,

There are no areas for either small children to play or teenagers to let off steam. If you take Sheldon Square and areas, for example...everywhere is very manicured and artificial but there's no area for kids to be kids.

Do you think the mix of uses work well together at Paddington Waterside?

Not really because the correct parameters were not used at the beginning and children and teenagers were definitely NOT included.

My next question was going to be who do you feel Paddington Waterside is catered for? As in families or workers?...from your last answer I gather you would say workers?

Well, yes it is catered for workers. Or those people with second homes out in the country but not families. The area just isn't catered for families at all. You wouldn't want to bring up children there...well I wouldn't.

The Paddington Station is convenient for city workers who want to escape at weekends.

As stated my dissertation is exploring the notion of a 'sense of place.' When thinking of a 'place' or somewhere you associates as 'home' what factors do you think are the most important?

Home or 'place' represents privacy,...comfort, somewhere you can be yourself with your family,...I suppose it is also somewhere you are very familiar with, familiar surroundings and areas.

I think privacy is very important, you need to go somewhere you are familiar with but also private area, this is my main association with home.

So, how important do you feel surroundings are to the creation of a 'home' or adding to a 'sense of place?'

Yes,...very important, surroundings of a home are things you are familiar with, things which make you 'feel at home.' I suppose for a second home, or if you've moved recently within adult life...the environment can contribute to the creation of a place...like, where there's attractive areas, or...open spaces, this can help create a place.

In Paddington Waterside I think they are trying to do this via the Basin area and the canal waterways. Whether this works is another matter. You don't really feel part of a neighbourhood when you walk around the area.

When walking around, Paddington Waterside is an attractive area. For those who live within Paddington Waterside, what factors do you think attracted or keeps them there?

I think fundamentally,...the transport facilities are incredibly beneficial for those working in the immediate vicinity.

The area is also incredibly clean,...and there is very easy access to Heathrow airport. Also, the lack of children may attract people to Paddington Waterside.

The Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) has published various documents relating to successful 'places.'...They have also made comments relating to Paddington, where they've indicated the various uses lacking in creating a significant, '*public realm*.' What do you consider the 'public realm' to include?

I would take the 'public realm,' to be a park large enough for the young and the old to enjoy and not get in each others' way...I suppose at Paddington Waterside, this comes back to the earlier point where they have created an attractive area,...and the Basin and Canal waterways are probably being developed as part of the public realm. Whether this caters for the population of the area is another matter!!

You also have Sheldon Square I suppose,...which is being promoted as an area for bands and performances...you know, at weekends and public holidays...I have never been to one of these...and I don't know of anyone who has.

So, do you think Paddington Waterside has been successful in creating a 'place or a community?'

Not at all.

Why do you think it has failed at creating a community?

Families and a variety of ages are needed for the creation of a community...there isn't any family or elderly people at Paddington Waterside.

Do you think the development proposals at Paddington Waterside meet the wishes or desires of local residents?

I'm not sure if I am in the best position to comment on this question as I only know of one family who chose not to live there...I live around 15 minutes walk from the waterside, so don't technically live within it...the one family I know of who chose not to live there felt the flats were so 'pokey,' ...that's their words not mine.

So what alternative uses do you think the area could have been used for?

At the beginning there would have been room for something like a skate boarding area...or something else suitable for the young to be themselves...the noise wouldn't have been a problem as it is right next to the fly-over which is noisy anyway.

Ok I see, so do you feel, that if family housing were to be added to the development that it would create a better sense of place?

Yes I think so...I mean you need a variety of people...ages...and generations to create a community..

But adding family housing would probably never sell in this location...I would imagine that it is more profitable to carry on the way they are, I mean...the area is perfect for young workers...that's why M&S and all those companies probably choose to locate there.

Well...that just about covers all the questions I wanted to ask, thank you very much for your time.

Main themes from Interview with Interviewee D

- A) Paddington Waterside is a great location for single people, and caters for local workers,
- B) The area does not cater for children,
- C) Does not provide a feeling of 'home'
 - a. No private or garden space available for residents
- D) Lack of provision for children,
- E) The mix of uses don't work well together,
- F) Surroundings as biggest influence of persons development of a sense of place,

G) Public realm does not make you feel part of neighbourhood when walking around Paddington Waterside.

Interview E – Member of Paddington Waterways and Maida Vale Society, 3rd August 2008.

Thank you very much for agreeing to participate in a short interview. As I outlined to xxxx who I have just also interviewed quickly,...my dissertation is researching the success of the developments at Paddington Waterside. This is in particular relation to the success of the uses there, and the creation of a place or community.

Right, ok, yes xxxx did mention briefly the nature of your dissertation...it sounds very interesting.

Are you familiar with Paddington Waterside at all?

Well I live about 20 minutes away...I know of the area, I have walked through there several times to get to Prad Street. I will sometimes choose to walk that way into little Venice.

What do you think of the developments there?...do you like the uses that are being promoted?

Well...I've only lived around here for three years so I don't really know what the area was like 10 years ago,...but the developments at the Waterside are definitely attractive and seem to cater for a lot of people...the canal is nice to walk along, but there never seems to be many barges that use it in that area...I suppose Little Venice is much nicer for that.

Yeah, so, do you think the mix of uses within Paddington Waterside work well together?

Yes,...I think they do...you can do anything there. I noticed that there's even a dentist,...everything you need within one area.

It's also got a Tesco and Sainsbury's and there are definitely a lot of office workers in the offices around...there's also bars and restaurants, so there are lots for them to do.

Who do you think the area caters for? As in the local residents living there or the workers who will be employed within the commercial uses?

I think this will be catered for the workers. That's what the entire area is founded on really I suppose. You have excellent train connections from Paddington, then some shops located within the Waterside...and heaps of flats for the workers to live in!

....you get a feeling...I mean the whole ethos environment around there is based on the workers.

I mean walk around there on a Sunday afternoon,...the area will be dead. But Thursday or Friday summer evenings, I'm sure when the offices are closed the area will be busier.

Well...yes I have walked around the Waterside on a Friday evening. I wouldn't say the area was extremely busy, but the bars were full and several people were drinking in Sheldon square...it was a much different picture than when I visited on a Saturday afternoon.

I can imagine...I suppose the fact that there is no family accommodation,...that I know of...within the waterside has immediately established itself as a destination for, you know...young professional workers.

So what do you feel contributes to a 'sense of place?' or home?

Erm...a home is somewhere you personally feel attached to, and know well. I suppose it would be the location you grew up in...with familiar surroundings....

The Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) can make representations towards different developments...they have commented at Paddington Waterside stating that the development lacks a 'significant whole' where the public realm can contribute. What do you take the public realm to include?

I would take this to be everything the public has access too....the walkways, so at Paddington this would be the walkways around the Basin...I suppose green parks. Paddington doesn't have any green spaces!

Open areas, areas with benches...or places you can sit with your lunch...this is how I would interpret the public realm. They have provided some nice seating areas within the Waterside,...and Sheldon Square.

...but I'm not really sure what a 'significant' whole would encompass,...I suppose with Paddington waterside you feel disconnected from the rest of Paddington...or even Westminster....I feel...personally that the area doesn't really reflect the style of the borough as a whole.

Do you think Paddington Waterside has been successful in creating a 'place?'

Not really....its an attractive location, which has the potential to be something special...but at the moment...no.

It lacks something but I'm not sure what...I suppose it is early days, and construction is still happening in some areas. But...from what I remember there are a few vacant units...I've noticed when you walk around...these need to be taken to create an atmosphere.

I suppose also there needs to be children to create a more vibrant location.

Do you think the developments at Paddington Waterside meets the needs or wishes of local residents?

I'm not to sure....It doesn't really bother me, and I suppose Westminster must need the jobs for all that office space they have achieved. However, it just....seems a bit disappointing that the areas doesn't cater for children.

This will be for young professionals...the train station will allow easy access out at weekends...so your left with a soulless area...which is a bit of a shame.

I think the area had the potential to be a rival to little Venice...but I don't know if that will ever happen...maybe it will I could be wrong.

Do you think the lack of child facilities has made Paddington Waterside fail at creating a community?

Yes I think so.

I think a community needs a variety of ages and people.

As, I said before...maybe once the area is full of people...even if these are all young professionals it may work at creating a community...I suppose it is a perfect location for these types, or people with second homes..

Thank you very much xxx I think that covers all of the areas I wanted to discuss.

Main themes from Interview with Interviewee E

- A) Paddington Waterside is being promoted as an attractive area,
- B) Very convenient development, contains all the uses an individual needs,
- C) The development is catered for young professional workers nearby,
- D) Not much of a sense of place has developed,
 - a. The area is quiet at weekends,
 - b. Transport links facilitate this,
- E) Paddington doesn't contain any green spaces needed to contribute to a 'home,'
- F) In time a sense of place may develop,
 - a. The area holds the potential to rival Little Venice nearby,

Interview F – MRTPI, Martin Robeson Planning Practice, 12th August 2008.

CG Hi xxxx, thanks for again for agreeing to participate in a quick interview for my dissertation. As you know my dissertation is based on mixed use developments and the creation of place or a community within them.

OK...to kick start things planning policy in the UK doesn't have a coherent definition from your experience what do you consider mixed use developments to entail?

Simply, more than one use.

CG So from your experience then,...what elements do you think are necessary to make a successful mixed use scheme?

You defiantly need an active ground floor frontage for example retail elements coffee shops etc. You also need a mix of main uses...residential also helps as this can prevent ghost towns at night.

CG With large mixed use development schemes various consultees can make consultations towards the scheme for example CABI get involved in quite a lot of large mixed use developments and have made representations to them. At Paddington Waterside the main Merchant Square area has been described by CABI to lack a significant hole, where this hasn't been achieved through the public realm. What do you consider the public realm to encompass?

Well, the public realm will encompass all areas which are open...this will predominantly be at the ground floor...this also includes public squares for instance and this could be within private land but would still form part of the public realm.

It's basically everywhere in which you can walk and physically get around the development but also areas in which you can relax and observe the development.

I suppose at Paddington Waterside,...the development needs time for such public realm areas to develop...I bet not many use the Basin for recreational uses at the moment...I'm sure this will develop.

CG Mixed use development is high up on the planning policy agenda from your experience

what benefits do you feel mixed use schemes can have?

Well...as I stated earlier they help prevent a ghost town in some city centre locations at nighttimes...this allows a 24 hour economy and also creates an area which is vibrant from early hours till late at night.

CG So who do you think will be the main recipient of these benefits?

The public will benefit the most from this predominantly.

CG From your experience what obstacles or constraints have you experienced with mixed use developments?

I think fundamentally it's the Councils insistence on the inclusion of community uses whatever they may be... It is also difficult to achieve the right amount of mixes of these uses.

CG From your experience to what extent has mixed use development reflected the lifestyles of residents within inner city areas?

Mixed use defiantly meets the wishes of inner city residents completely...perhaps there is a government agenda for mixed use developments to reduce travel times for commuting workers. This is particularly convenient for inner city residents.

CG How important do you feel it is to create a sense of place within regeneration schemes of inner city areas?

This is entirely necessary. Although this is an extremely hard issue to address.

CG So in your opinion what do you feel are the most important factors in creating a sense of place?

Well you need a comprehensive or holistic mix of uses these must coherently work together well. Also a public realm which people can use effectively...these two elements defiantly are the biggest contributors to a sense of place.

CG Do you think Paddington Waterside has been successful in creating a sense of place?

Maybe...as a visitor walking around you don't really feel part of any strong sense of place, or community...but if you lived there permanently you may feel this.

But the development caters to the wrong types to create a place,. I mean everyone will be travelling out of London for the weekends...I can imagine...this won't help a sense of place here.

I definitely think new regeneration areas need to establish a sense of place, but as for Paddington Waterside, I'm not sure if...if a strong sense of place is needed.

Why does the area not need a strong sense of place?

Well...I mean...If you were a single..professional working and living there I'm sure you wouldn't live there at the weekends...you would go somewhere else...so in this respect you may not need to develop a sense of place for residents....

If the residents are working all week and leaving at weekends...they probably don't have time to get involved with community things anyway.

O.k. I see. Well I think that has covered all of the areas I wanted to discuss...thank you for your time.

Main themes from Interview with Interviewee F

- A) Mixed uses can allow a 24hour economy in inner city areas,
 - a. Mixed use can prevent ghost-towns,
- B) Mixed use meets the desires of inner city residents, mainly by reducing travel times for workers,
- C) A sense of place is essential in new developments,
 - a. All uses must work coherently well together to make a 'place.'
- D) Paddington waterside may never create a strong sense of place.

Interview G –MRTPI, Martin Robeson Planning Practice, 25th July 2008.

CG - Hi thanks a lot for agreeing to participate in an interview for my dissertation. As I have outlined my dissertation is looking into mixed use developments, and if they are successful in creating a 'community' or a 'sense of place.'

Gaining an insight from professionals within the planning profession will be useful to understand your interpretation of what the various elements mean.

So to start off with planning policy within the UK does not contain a comprehensive definition for mixed use developments, what do you understand mixed use to mean?

G Well...when I think of mixed use I take this to mean a combination of residential and non-residential activities. The latter will often comprise of commercial activities...but such schemes can also include some civic uses.

CG - From your experience what elements do you think are necessary to make a successful mixed use scheme?

G I think the key to a successful mixed use scheme would be the balance between residential community which will create a vibrant and often 24 hour commercial component.

Also the design is very important...it needs to take account of residential sensitivity to achieve this.

CG - You have mentioned design and this has been linked with the public realm. The commission for architecture and the built environment (CABE) can make representations towards large mixed use regeneration projects.

Some schemes at Paddington Waterside have received criticism relating to the various uses not forming a "*significant*" whole.

CABE has highlighted in various publications that this can be rectified via a significant public realm...when thinking of this public realm what do you consider the elements to include within this context?

G I certainly think the public realm should include public open space.

However there are schemes which can mingle commercial uses with public open space which can be successful...for example this can be via the provision of seating for cafes in public spaces,...or a tiny bit of grass in the square of the development etc.

Also public art and the architecture can enhance the spatial element of the public realm which has to be difficult in my opinion.

CG - So do you think the physical environment plays an important role in the creation of a public realm?

G Yes indeed,...it is defiantly the attractiveness of the streetscape which will supply the public realm. As previously mentioned you know,...it's the spatial elements which are fundamentally the first thing a person will experience when experiencing the public realm.

CG - It's quite apparent working in the planning arena that mixed use development is high up on the planning policy agenda. In your experience what benefits have you experienced through mixed use schemes?

G I think,...obviously it is the issue of an efficient use of land where you can development complex sites and lifestyle choice all on one site.

This is the main benefit which mixed use schemes can offer.

CG - Who do you feel is the main recipient of these benefits?

G I think provided the scheme is well designed everyone can benefit but more often not it would be to the developers benefit.

CG - Yeah I see, so in your experience what obstacles or constraints have you experienced with mixed use developments?

G Well firstly...I'd probably say the demand for employment land and therefore the argument more often for high density residential land....

Also there is residential sensitivity particularly in relation to noise and air quality issues that may arise from the proximity to industry or employment and...I suppose there is retail need case now within large mixed use communities.

CG - In your experience then, what extent has mixed use development reflected the wishes or lifestyles of residents within urban areas?

G Well living in the UK for under a year my experiences here are quite limited. However...in New Zealand they have not really with an overwhelming support or uptake - except for some very recent examples that often have outstanding character or a element of something different...for example heritage restoration.

So...those mixed use schemes which I feel have been successful are those which are contributing something to the community which didn't exist before or which they were lacking. Then the scheme has really met the wishes and lifestyles of the residents of inner areas.

CG - Do you think it is important then to create a sense of place within regeneration schemes especially within inner city areas?

G Absolutely.

Without a sense of place you run the risk of residents or workers not adopting the relevant identity of the area....this in turn can lead to vacancies and a loss in turnover. A lack of sense of place can also lead to misuse.

CG - So what do you feel are the most important factors in creating a sense of place?

G I think expressing the history and cultural of the area is very important...also being able to illustrate the origins of a place in a new design...this is where innovative architecture can play a key role.

You also need innovative ideas in relation to public open space and this must

obviously be consistent throughout the scheme.

You mentioned that you have lived in the UK for a year, in this time have you visited Paddington Waterside?

G Only a few times,...I am not hugely familiar with the area unfortunately.

Thanks ok...what did you think of the area when you were there?...do you feel as if the mix of uses are working well together?

G Yes I think so...it's a very nice location...what with the...canal and waterways...it's a typical new London development

How do you mean?

G Well...you've got retail...commercial...leisure with the canal...all very stereotypical mixed-use...even more so with the Tesco that I noticed.

Oh...I see, do you feel the area is being successful in creating a place or a community?

G I'm probably not the best person to ask...but I got the feeling it was all a little quiet when I walked around...I mean...it's not finished yet? So maybe in a few years time....it could all be a different storey.

Right...yes I see...do you think the residential areas at Paddington Waterside provide a feeling of 'home?'

G Erm...I suppose they don't...I mean it's all very commercial their...and I can't imagine there are many nice areas...I mean green areas...they won't have gardens either.

I wouldn't personally like to live their.

CG - Yeah I see. Well thanks a lot, which has been very useful-I think we've covered all of the areas I wanted to go over.

Main themes from Interview with Interviewee G

- A) Successful mixed use schemes need balance between residential community and 24hour commercial component,
 - a. Design is important too to allow for residential sensitivity,
- B) Essential to create a sense of place in new developments,
 - a. Lack of, can result in a lack of identity to the area, in turn leading to vacancies and loss in turn over,
- C) Sense of place is strongly influenced by the public realm,
 - a. public art can contribute, even small grass areas,

Interview H – 20th July 2008 Employee for Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE). Interview H works on the Design Review Panel and has assisted the panel for several Paddington Waterside schemes.

Hi, thank you for taking the time to participate in my interview. As I have outlined the questions will involve your interpretation on mixed-use schemes and a sense of place. This will be in relation to the regeneration developments at Paddington Waterside,...of which you have mentioned you have some association with.

Well,...yes. I saw the original plans and scheme ideas for West End Quay, which were then passed onto my colleagues for review at the Design review panel...we have also recently commented on the Merchants Square proposals which have recently been approved and construction has begun.

Yes, I noticed those comments, they were available on CABE website...how do those comments work, are they a statutory comments which the council will have to take into consideration?

No, not necessarily, the council could chose to ignore them as they were pre application stage.

O.k...I see. Planning Policy within the UK does not contain a comprehensive definition for mixed-use developments. What do you understand mixed-use to include?

In my view, a genuine mixed-use scheme would include a viable proportion of residential, commercial and retail...and community uses.

Do you have much experience with mixed-use urban regeneration projects?...what do you feel contributes to a successful mixed-use scheme?

Yes...in private practice and in the public sector. A meaningful proportion of private for sale and affordable housing that is integral to the scheme...rather than an add-on to the scheme...this will increase the chances of success.

I have noticed that some projects have received criticism relating to the various 'uses' lacking in forming a '*significant*,' whole within many of the representations towards mixed use schemes.

It has been indicated this can be rectified via a significant '*public realm*.' What elements do you think contribute and make the 'public realm,' within city centre regeneration?

Much thought has to go into the role and character of the public space being proposed,... this...including how uses around it will ensure it is active throughout the day and how local features, like waterways or landscape, will help shape its identity... public art for its own sake cannot save a space on its own.

Mixed-use development is high upon the planning policy agenda, what benefits do you consider mixed-use to include? And who do you feel is the main recipient of these benefits?

Well...there is no reason why each of the parties cannot benefit equally from such development...as in the tenants...retail occupiers...commercial occupiers...landlords...agents...land owners...etc...

What constraints do you feel mixed use developments hold?...Do you think a mix of uses can successfully be delivered and integrated within one site?

I think now so more than ever,...uses that in the past may have been considered un-neighbourly are able to sit alongside quieter ones. Quieter industrial uses can work well with residential in the right circumstances...It comes down to the management and operation of those uses.

Do you think that mixed use development reflects the wishes or lifestyles of residents within inner urban areas?

Those living in inner urban areas expect to live cheek by jowl with commercial and other uses as they benefit from the life that this gives to their neighbourhood...with

car ownership becoming increasingly costly people expect the convenience of being able to shop and work and play close to home.

Do you think creating a 'sense of place,' within regeneration schemes is important within inner city areas?

Yes,...with the increasing competitiveness of town centres across the country looking to secure their own John Lewis and other chains, the risk remains that our towns and cities will become clone towns...unless efforts are made to establish an offer...one that builds on the established character of a place.

When thinking of areas you regard as 'home,' or areas which represents a sense of 'place,' what do you feel are the most important factors?

Sense of place can be drawn from the strong landscape...or heritage character of a place, the concentration of particular communities, take areas like Brick Lane for example, or a dominant use in an area, or a well known public space, to fix it in one's mental map of a city.

Do you think Paddington Waterside area has been a successful use in regeneration terms? And do you think a neighbourhood has...or is being created?

I suppose it's how you define successful. The first scheme has been standing now for only...what....is it 6 years?

Yes,... I think that's right,...

Exactly, it's definitely a work in progress. But if we take it for now, then I think it could have been a lot more successful...But...I suppose what I'm trying to say is...time will tell.

Do you think the regeneration within the Paddington Special Policy Area...Paddington Waterside, reflects the needs of the Borough?

Well,...not necessarily the needs of the borough...but maybe this reflects the needs of new professionals coming into the Paddington Area.

I think this is the main point, which I have come across within my research. Maybe the area doesn't meet the needs of the locals, but it reflects the demands of the current environment...

Yeah I mean, I think it's a reflection on what the economy needs or wants.

Do you think the residential areas provide a feeling of 'home' for those who live there?

Well...home can be interpreted in many different ways.

I think structurally yes the residential units do provide a home feeling...however, this needs to be developed individually.

I do think there are some poor areas which can inhibit this,...like the lack of private garden space...or amenity space...but the rooms are all sufficient.

Yeah I see. I think this goes back to the area more catered for young workers,...you know without children. Thank you for taking the time to answer my questionnaire, I think that just about covers everything.

Main themes from Interview with Interviewee H

- A) Affordable housing in integral to a successful mixed use scheme,
- B) Careful design is needed to public realm areas,
- C) Very important to develop a sense of place within developments,
 - a. Sense of place will avoid clone towns being established throughout the UK,
- D) Paddington Waterside has been very successful,
 - a. The development is a work in progress,
- E) Development reflects needs of professionals working in Paddington area,
 - a. A reflection of what's needed in the economy.
- F) Residential element does provide feeling of home – but this is developed individually,
 - a. Home is not established for families.

Interview I – MRTPI 18th July 2008, Redbridge Borough Council

Planning Policy within the UK does not contain a comprehensive definition for mixed-use developments. What do you understand mixed-use to mean?

Mixed use the combination of retail, commercial and or service uses with residential or office use in the same building or site.

From your experience, what elements do you think are necessary to make a successful mixed-use scheme?

A successful mixed use scheme is one where the uses encourage economic and social activity amongst the residents, businesses and employees within the development....It is important that the retail, commercial and service uses do not have a negative impact on the amenity of the residential and...or office uses whilst providing them with nearby necessities.

If an element of community 'ownership' can be achieved, a scheme will be successful as those who reside and work within the site or the individual building,...they are more likely to ensure an ongoing management of the development long after first occupation.

The Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) can make representations towards large mixed-use regeneration projects. Some projects have received criticism relating to the various 'uses' lacking in forming a '*significant*,' whole. CABE has indicated this can be rectified via a significant '*public realm*.' What elements are considered the 'public realm,' within this context?

Public art...open space...community and sport facilities...as well as any part of a scheme to where the community have access can be considered the public realm.

Mixed-use development is high upon the planning policy agenda. In your experience what benefits have mixed-use schemes offered?...and who do you feel is the main recipient of these benefits?

Mixed use developments can have wide ranging benefits if they are successful.

Transportation for instance....this will benefit the Local authorities, residents and tenants...and the public can benefit from having a range of services and shops within walking distance. The local authority does not have to spend as much on transportation infrastructure,..and the residents or tenants do not have to rely on public or private transportation and surrounding members of the public can benefit from having new shops, services and facilities located close by.

The Environmental will benefit...decreasing travel times means less detriment to the environment.

Socially, a sense of community can be achieved within a mixed use scheme,...this will lessen the burden on local authorities to fund community projects...and benefiting the residents and tenants.

Safety can be incorporated; a sense of community is more likely to lead to a safer area...in terms of monitoring as well as providing a focus for local youths.

Within your experience what obstacles or constraints have you experienced with mixed-use developments?

I suppose,...firstly, Co-ordinating a management plan for when the scheme is occupied....also attracting the right types of uses which are less likely to cause detriment to residential amenity whilst providing needed goods and...or services. And also designating the usable areas of communal open space.

In your experience, to what extent has mixed use development reflected the wishes or lifestyles of residents within inner urban areas?

Mixed use development maximises the use of sites and allows those in inner urban areas to live fast pace lives...where a lot of the services or goods that they need are at their doorstep.

This can be quite important as it allows time for other activities such as leisure which is quite often eaten into by day to day tasks.

How important is it to create a 'sense of place,' within regeneration schemes of inner city areas?...do you think it should be a priority?

A sense of place should be a priority as it leads to people identifying more closely with the place they live and its surroundings...people will then take a greater action to protect, or conserve and look after a place that they identify with.

In your opinion, what are the most important factors in creating a 'sense of place?'

The most important factors in creating a sense of place are design, location, usability of public and private areas and safety.

At Paddington Waterside...do you feel the area has been a successful...in regeneration terms?

Yes, I went there for the first time about 9 months ago. I only passed through and stopped for a drink on a Saturday afternoon, on my way to Maida Vale....It is certainly an attractive place, and pleasant to walk around.

Do you think a neighbourhood has or...is being created?

I didn't feel as if I was within a community atmosphere, as there weren't many people around and the many units were closed.

Maybe there is much more of an atmosphere in the evenings when the workers have finished, and come out of the offices.

Do you think the regeneration within the Paddington Special Policy Area (Paddington Waterside) fulfils the needs of the Borough?

Yes, I think so because what else is the alternative? It has brought back a Brownfield site into action, with attractive buildings and who knows in 20 years time it could be a buzzing vibrant place everyone wants to live at.

Thank you for your time,...i think that has covered all of the areas I wanted to discuss.

Main themes from Interview with Interviewee I

A) Mixed use main benefit is sustainability,

- a. Maximises the use of a site,
- B) Sense of place should be a priority within regeneration schemes,
 - a. People will take greater pride in area if place is established,
- C) Paddington Waterside is an attractive development maximising the potential of the area
- D) Regeneration of Paddington Waterside has failed to produce a community,
 - a. Lack of 'atmosphere,' when you walk around,
- E) Does fulfil needs of borough, as no better alternative.

Interview J – 10th June 2008, MRTPI MRICS, Planning Officer, Westminster City Council, works within policy and has assisted work on the Paddington Special Policy Area (PSPA). (Copy of emailed Questions).

Hi, thank you for agreeing to answer some of my questions. As I mentioned my dissertation is exploring mixed use developments and if they are successful in creating a 'place.' I am particularly interested in the regeneration area of Paddington Waterside.

Planning Policy within the UK does not contain a comprehensive definition for mixed-use developments. What do you understand mixed-use to include?

In Westminster the principle and details of planning policy towards mixed use has been an integral part of the formal plan making process since the 1943 County of London, known as the LCC, plan and the first Westminster draft plan of 1978.

Ok...do you have much experience with mixed-use urban regeneration projects? If so what do you feel contributes to a successful mixed-use scheme?

Yes, mixed use requires clear planning policies detailed consideration of the physical layout and amenities the different mixed uses require, including impacts on existing and new occupiers. Critical is developers and investors' attitudes to mixed use.

The Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) can make representations towards large mixed-use regeneration projects. Some projects have received criticism relating to the various 'uses' lacking in forming a '*significant*,' whole. CABE has indicated this can be rectified via a significant '*public realm*.' What elements do you think contribute and make the 'public realm,' within city centre regeneration? E.g., public art, open space etc.

Public realm must make new developments fit into and contribute to the existing area, provide routes and connections lined by supporting uses and activities. Provision of play space, planting and 'tranquil' as well as active areas are also required. Design and within that context, public art can contribute to character and identity.

Mixed-use development is high upon the planning policy agenda, what benefits do you consider mixed-use to include?....and who do you feel is the main recipient of these benefits?

Benefits will arise over a range of time-scales, long term the area and local authority can be seen as the main recipient, with developers obviously (if profitable) achieve early benefits with, if successful, communities getting medium term results.

What constraints do you feel mixed use developments hold? Do you think a mix of uses can successfully be delivered and integrated within one site?

Attitudes of investors, analysts, developers are principal constraints.

Subject to viability, location and policy context (and sufficient space) mixed use schemes can be delivered – however, the overall character of an area can be more important than individual sites.

Do you think that mixed use development reflects the wishes or lifestyles of residents within inner urban areas?

The amount, type and affordability of the development's residential units and the scale of commercial development will influence the wishes/lifestyle, plus the physical impact of the development itself.

Do you think creating a 'sense of place,' within regeneration schemes is important within inner city areas?

That depends on if a 'sense of place' or character already exists – is the development seeking to add – or even replace to a character. Is it of sufficient scale to establish a character of its own.

When thinking of areas you regard as 'home,' or areas which represents a sense of 'place,' what do you feel are the most important factors?

Within an area or a mixed use scheme you want a sense of place; within the residential element (and specifically the residential units) the design should assist in creating a sense of home.

Have you visited Paddington Waterside in the last 2 or 3 years?...if so, do you feel the area has been a successful use in regeneration terms? ...and do you think a neighbourhood has or is being created?

Yes, I have known the area for over 20 years. The site represents several developments by different owners and is still 5-10 years from basic physical completion – it is quite reasonably, best judged and seen as work in progress and in that respect it has most of the right elements in place and room to be satisfactorily completed.

Do you think the regeneration within the Paddington Special Policy Area, Paddington Waterside, reflects the needs of the Borough?

I must admit to being responsible for identifying and leading on the PSPA for 21 years. So bearing that in mind, and given the needs of Central London, City of Westminster and Paddington, the developments to date does directly address the needs of the borough over the last 20 years in the provision of mixed uses, enabling public access and providing a range of environmental, social and community uses and funds.

Do you think the residential areas within Paddington Waterside create a feeling of home, and therefore contribute to the community?

Yes I think so, many of the apartments are designed in such a way that have communal facilities and areas.

Main themes from Emailed correspondence with Interviewee J

- A) mixed use is an integral part of planning in Westminster,
- B) the public realm allows developments to fit into the areas surroundings thus aiding to the developments sense of place,
- C) the redevelopment meets the desires of local residents, commercial development will influence this,
- D) the design is vital in assisting the creation of sense of home,
- E) Paddington Waterside is 10-15years of total completion,
- F) The PSPA meets the desires for Central London and the needs of the borough.

Interview K – 15th August 2008 MRTPI MRICS, Proprietor of Martin Robeson
Planning Practice

Hi xxx thanks for taking the time to answer a few questions for my dissertation.

Firstly, when thinking of a 'place' of somewhere you know of as 'home' what do you think are the biggest factors which contribute to that?

A sense of belonging...somewhere you are familiar with and maybe know for a long period of time. I think you need familiar surroundings definitely...

In the context of a mixed use development what physical entities do you think make a successful sense of place?

You definitely need to feel welcome,...and there needs to be a good atmosphere...this can be achieved in mixed use developments by providing a 24hour economy....or making the environment pleasant...and attractive...making sure there are plenty of things to do...

Do you think Paddington Waterside has been successful in creating a sense of place?

Erm...I don't think so really...as I have said you need a 24hour economy...and people around doing things. I don't think this is the case at Paddington...I mean Merchant Square hasn't been completed yet, and there are a few smaller sites surrounding the Basin that once finished...may create a vibrant community.

But I think from the profile of the area and those it attracts...you know tourists...or workers for the Hilton for a few days a week...you'll never truly create a seven day a week community.

Do you think the residential areas have been successful in creating a 'home?'

No. that's not what it's about anymore though...it's a convenient location...nice tidy apartments...near to your work...and transport.

You'll never get a traditional home there...the apartments could be 20 storeys up with no garden...I bet if you lived there you would never see or have the chance to

...speak...socialise with your neighbours...so there's little chance of creating a community.

Do you think this form of development meets the needs of local residents or the desires of local people...for example, those immediately surrounding Paddington Waterside?

I don't think so...but that's not really the point...in planning terms the developments at the Waterside are a very efficient use of the land...I don't think you can drive round the majority of it either...and with train connections so close its certainly very sustainable...this is how policy has changed dramatically in the last 10years or so...

I can remember when the basin area was inaccessible...but recent policy has enabled developers to bring this site back into use in an efficient way...creating a community also would be an added bonus.

Do you feel that the mix of uses work well together at Paddington Waterside?

Yes I think so...I think the areas biggest hurdle is the resident in which it attracts....that is the biggest obstacle which will hinder an establishment of a 'place' there.

If you can afford to live there, you are more than likely going to be able to afford to escape at weekends...also those flats will be very appealing to the tenants occupying the commercial space as accommodation for their employees...or visitor associated with that commercial activity... so in that sense I don't think a strong sense of place can ever be achieved.

In that way...do you think Paddington Waterside needs a strong sense of place?

I think that....well...developing a sense of place is very important...anywhere.

This will allow the development to successful function...people can associate to that area and you have the added bonus of security...and a 24hour economy...You will need some kind of 'place' established at the Waterside...but...what I'm trying to get at is that...this needn't...necessarily be particularly strong. Not when the locals will be somewhere else at weekends...

Ok...I see, so do you think that regeneration areas can have a weaker place association than others?

Yes.

I think so...I mean...its unfortunate at Paddington that those who may live surrounding the development...you know...may have lived there for years...and it would be nice in that regard to create a strong place with a strong community...but in all I think the development benefits...they ought-weigh the associated part-loss in...in a sense of place.

I think that has covered all of the areas I wanted to cover, thank you for your time.

Main themes from Interview with Interviewee K

- A) developments need to make people feel welcome, with good atmosphere to create a sense of place,
- B) Paddington waterside has not been successful in creating a place,
 - a. Need a more vibrant community,
 - b. the mix of uses may inhibit this development (transport, hotel etc)
- C) Paddington Waterside is a convenient location for those who live their,
- D) Does not meet needs of local residents,
 - a. does benefit the economy
 - b. no one is local anymore in London
- E) A strong sense of place may never be able to be achieved given the location of Paddington Waterside and the mix of development being promoted.

Interview L – 15th August 2008, MRTPI, Works for English Partnerships, involved with many major mixed use developments.

Hi xxxx thank you for agreeing to answer a few questions. This shouldn't take very long. As I mentioned, my dissertation is researching the success of mixed use developments in creating a sense of place, or community.

Yes, ok...

I am particularly looking into the developments at Paddington Waterside, and I want to investigate how successful the area has been at creating a 'place'

Planning Policy within the UK does not contain a comprehensive definition for mixed-use developments. What do you understand mixed-use to mean?

Would usually associate mixed use for larger scale developments... Means a scheme that includes more than one use, Usually would expect a residential element with supporting commercial / retail uses, education and community facilities.

The idea being...I suppose, that these uses work together to address existing and proposed needs of local people and achieve a sustainable community.

From your experience, what elements do you think are necessary to make a successful mixed-use scheme?

It really does depend on the location of the mixed-use scheme...and its size / scale. It doesn't matter how good the scheme is – if it is the wrong or unsustainable location then I would not expect it to succeed...Successful mixed-use schemes will identify the problems in the area / common objectives and seek to address these with community involvement.

In terms of design,...my idea of a successful mixed-use scheme is one that has variety and vitality and activity throughout the day – residential elements with shops and other facilities so that streets and other public areas are never really deserted.

The Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) can make representations towards large mixed-use regeneration projects. Some projects have received criticism relating to the various 'uses' lacking in forming a '*significant*,' whole. CABE has indicated this can be rectified via a significant '*public realm*.' What

elements are considered the 'public realm,' within this context?...for example, public art, open space etc...

Public Realm could be considered to be any areas outside of buildings that are likely to be used by the public...not just for leisure or recreation purposes but just for getting from A to B...You mentioned public art and open spaces,...which are important elements to the public realm.

However...to me the most important areas are the streets and urban squares...those that make up most of the public realm...which are used by everyone on a daily basis– they have both a practical function and help to create a sense of place.

The 'Manual for Streets' and English Partnerships Urban Design Compendium documents expand on this point.

Mixed-use development is high upon the planning policy agenda. In your experience what benefits have mixed-use schemes offered? And who do you feel is the main recipient of these benefits?

There are a number of benefits to mixed-use schemes. This can include helping to contribute to a greater variety/vitality of areas...greater activity throughout the day with natural surveillance afforded to streets and other public spaces.

I suppose...In urban design terms, a mix of uses can provide a more interesting scheme architecturally...sustainability benefits...if by providing a mix of uses in close proximity to residents this reduces dependence on the private car.

The main recipients of these benefits...are probably the residents in the areas who live in close proximity to supporting facilities that they need and the businesses that will benefit from their custom.

Land owners are actually less likely to benefit...as the receipt they will get for a mixed-use scheme is usually less than a wholly residential scheme as residential land is...or certainly up until recently...more profitable per hectare.

Within your experience what obstacles or constraints have you experienced with mixed-use developments? In relation to delivering the scheme?

I'm not that really involved in delivering mixed-use schemes as a developer / landowner...but I have approved mixed-use schemes as a development control planner.

From my experience....the biggest challenge is achieving a scheme with a number of supporting uses, rather than any potential conflicts.

For example...I'm currently having problems on a site where we have a local centre consisting of retail uses on the ground floor and residential units above... this has thrown up a few problems of noise and disturbance...different hours of business etc which has an adverse effect on residents and is unacceptable in environmental health terms. Other obstacles include the different highways...or traffic generation implications of different users.

Ultimately, different uses and their associated requirements should be compatible or at the very least their adverse affects mitigated.

In your experience, to what extent has mixed use development reflected the wishes or lifestyles of residents within inner urban areas?

This...It's always a challenge – particularly in inner city areas where it is assumed there are existing residents or users already,...so any scheme should really involve consultation with these residents and other local stakeholders to ensure the scheme provides for their needs.

I actually work on development sites on the expansion areas of Milton Keynes...this in effect is Greenfield land, and so there are actually no real residents to consult with about what their wishes or lifestyles are...whilst it may be possible to guess what that might be,...we have also set aside 'reserve sites' which will be used for any use for which the residents who may start moving to the scheme identify as being required.

How important is it to create a 'sense of place,' within regeneration schemes of inner city areas? Do you think it should be a priority?

It's vitally important for any scheme,...not just regeneration schemes of inner city schemes, to have a clear sense of place that contribute to an area's character and a person's experience from being there.

I believe all developments should be clearly identifiable in their own right and be desirable places that people will want to live, work or visit.

In your opinion, what are the most important factors in creating a 'sense of place?'

A sense of place is about feeling what it is like to be there.

This can be created through common design themes...architectural styles...materials that are distinguishable to that area. However, more important than that are probably the uses in the area,...the sights and sounds that arise from these experiences and the different people that this attracts. It is the combination of both these natural and human elements that help make a place unique.

Thank you for taking the time to answer some questions, that covers all the areas I wanted to discuss.

Main themes from Interview with Interviewee L

- A) need careful management to for 24hour activity so that areas are not deserted,
 - a. needs design to allow variety and vitality,
- B) the streets and urban squares are most important areas for the public realm,
- C) The different uses must be compatible,
- D) Sense of place is very important, it contributes to persons experience of being there,
 - a. Places need to be clearly identifiable with their own character,
 - b. Design as biggest influence of sense of place,

Interview M – Telephone conversation Kay Buxton, 2nd August (Summary of main quotes).

Telephone conversation with Interviewee M – Paddington Waterside Partnership.

How is a sense of place being established at Paddington Waterside?

One of the fundamental aims of the partnership is to develop a sense of place within a new location...this is outlined within our toolkit which I will post to you after this conversation.

In 2002 the partnership began its 'pride of place,' programme which is part funded by the London Development Agency. As such a main aim of this is to create just that...a sense of place...where surrounding community feel they can belong.

This Pride of Place programme is committed to participate in a series of practical actions and projects with the aim of ensuring that Paddington Waterside is not an 'island.'

How is this being achieved?

It supports commercial occupiers and new residents...and developers...we want them to better relate their surrounds...and the surrounding communities to the developments...this way all can share the benefits.

Do you think the mix of uses come together well?

The Paddington Improvement District has a focus on the area to the South, east and West of Paddington Waterside...this is bringing additional resources to improve the environment and commercial performance of the Praed Street centre and hotel quarter to and includes Sussex street. So there is a huge effort to bring the uses together.

Interview N – 10th July 2008, MRTPI, Indigo Planning, Wimbledon

Planning Policy within the UK does not contain a comprehensive definition for mixed-use developments. What do you understand mixed-use to mean?

I suppose...just simply...Development which contains more than one use within it.

From your experience, what elements do you think are necessary to make a successful mixed-use scheme?

This all depends on the development and the surrounding uses...an understanding is required to establish what uses are lacking within an area and where the need lies.

The Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) can make representations towards large mixed-use regeneration projects. At Merchant Square within Paddington Waterside criticism has been raised relating to the various 'uses' lacking in forming a '*significant*,' whole.

CABE has indicated this can be rectified via a significant '*public realm*.' What elements do you think are considered the 'public realm,' within this context?

I would say areas which are accessible to the general public...everywhere you can walk around,...and physically get access to.

This would include, public walkways,...open spaces....benches to sit on....green areas...

Mixed-use development is high upon the planning policy agenda. In your experience what benefits have mixed-use schemes offered?...and who do you feel is the main recipient of these benefits?

Mixed use developments allow for the opportunity to deliver more than one particular use...the benefit is likely to be to both the developer in creating an attractive place which people will want to live...and also to the surrounding population in terms of using the space and facilities.

Within your experience what obstacles or constraints have you experienced with mixed-use developments? In relation to delivering the scheme?

I would say the main constraint is actually getting the mix right,....meeting the needs of everybody...and then getting those uses to work together.

In your experience, to what extent has mixed use development reflected the wishes or lifestyles of residents within inner urban areas?

I think so...our planning system allows for a comprehensive consultation at all stages....so it should really.

How important is it to create a 'sense of place,' within regeneration schemes of inner city areas? Do you think it should be a priority?

It's very important to create a sense of place, you will feel like you belong there, or want to go back.

In your opinion, what are the most important factors in creating a 'sense of place?'

I think...accessibility and the ability to easily read the development from the surrounding area.

Have you visited Paddington Waterside in the last 2 or 3 years?

Yes

Do you feel the area has been a successful use in regeneration terms? As in do you think a neighbourhood has been created?

I wouldn't say the area has created a neighbourhood...I mean there is no one around at weekends...the site has a huge Hilton hotel, so that must mean it caters predominantly for visitors.

I just don't think it has the right mix of people to be a neighbourhood...and the mix won't enable a neighbourhood...or...community feel at weekends.

What do you think the problem is for weekend?

Well the area is full of workers so no ones around to make a community at weekends.

Do you think the regeneration within the Paddington Special Policy Area (Paddington Waterside) fulfils the needs of the Borough?

I think it fulfils the needs of Central London...and the economy as a whole. I don't know the statistics well enough to comment on the needs of the local area...or the borough in general.

Do you think the mix of uses promoted at Paddington Waterside work well together?...have they coherently come together?

Not really...I suppose they haven't....this could take some years...

At West End Quay, they've got Tesco in as the main retailer, they needed a high quality retailer to locate their, things like that would get the ball rolling, and attract new people....same with the restaurants, the ones there now, don't really work...a good example would be Canary Wharf.

Yeah,...I see...well thank you for that, I have covered all the areas that I wanted to discuss. Thank you for answering my questions.

Main themes from Interview with Interviewee N

- A) getting the mix of uses right is biggest obstacle to mixed use developments,
- B) very important to create a sense of place, make you feel as though you belong there,
- C) Paddington Waterside has not created a neighbourhood,
 - a. Feeling it caters for visitors,
 - b. Wrong mix of residents to create a community or neighbourhood,
- D) Paddington Waterside caters for local workers,

E) PSPA fulfils the needs for Central London not necessarily the local residents within the Borough.

Interview O – 8th July 2008, MRTPI, Indigo Planning, Wimbledon

Hi xxxx thank you for agreeing to answer some questions for my dissertation. As I have mentioned my dissertation is researching the success of mixed-use developments in particular relation to Paddington Waterside in Westminster.

Yeah, I got your cover email...this seems like a very topical dissertation...I should probably outline at this point that I haven't worked at Paddington Waterside but I do know of the area. I haven't been there for a few months, but I have walked around the development....My close friend lived just off Newcastle Place..... So I know of the area a little.

Ok, perfect, well...I am exploring my research objectives through planning professionals and local residents' interpretation of how successful they feel the scheme has been...

Firstly, to begin with...planning Policy within the UK does not contain a comprehensive definition for mixed-use developments. What do you understand mixed-use to mean?

A development or....proposed development that incorporates a number of uses on a single Site.

From your experience then, what elements do you think are necessary to make a successful mixed-use scheme?

Firstly you'll need a good balance of uses...these are usually in line with either the proposed amount of residential on the site...or the needs and vision for the wider area. Also really depends on where the scheme is based...as in is this a rural area, or an urban one...the proposed development is also important...will it be for housing or shopping complex or an office park or even a learning campus...

...and the aims of the development is also an important factor...has it come about from an allocation or vision for an area...or major development...for example...the Olympics or a big stadium...or major transport infrastructure...you know...what was the trigger?

One of the factors CAGE attribute to unsuccessful developments in terms of failing to produce a 'place,' is developments lacking in forming a 'significant' whole. CAGE have indicated this can be rectified via a significant 'public realm.'

What elements do you consider the public realm to include?

I would say...anything that can be used by the community...be this residential or business....which would obviously be new to the development and the existing areas.

Do you think design has a part to play in this, in relation to creating a 'place'?

Yes I do.

You need buildings in new developments...to, to allow people to enjoy these areas...this could be access routes to get to certain public spaces...

Also, design is important to name an area easily available to people on foot.

Mixed-use development is high upon the planning policy agenda... from your experience what benefits have mixed-use schemes offered?...And who do you feel is the main recipient of these benefits?

I think...if a development is effective and efficient...it will be able to support itself whilst contributing to in some way to the wider area.

Within your experience what obstacles or constraints have you experienced with mixed-use developments?

The main obstacle is PPS6!!!...and I suppose local residential opposition.

So from your experience do you think mixed use development is reflecting the wishes and lifestyles of residents within inner urban areas?

I think the fundamental reasoning behind mixed-use is meant to make place more sustainable...In a way this is more important than anything else.

How important is it to create a 'sense of place,' within regeneration schemes of inner city areas?...do you think it should be a priority?

Yes most definitely...people would respect and take responsibility for the area in which they would call home and feel more secure...you would also feel more secure there.

In your opinion, what are the most important factors in creating a 'sense of place?'

Public consultation – actually listen to what locals want rather than fitting them into a new development

Do you think Paddington Waterside is being successful in creating a place? Or a community?

To a certain extent....it certainly is providing the facilities of those who are living there. However...I'm not sure if these are the contributing factors to a neighbourhood...I mean they are expensive apartments...and I can imagine that many don't live there at weekends.

Yes I have been at a weekend a few times and it's very quiet...

I think I'm right in saying that the majority of retail units don't open at weekends...only during the week for the workers...so right there you don't have a community.

Do you think the regeneration within the Paddington Special Policy Area (Paddington Waterside) fulfils the needs of the Borough?

Again,...I think it meets the needs of planning in sustainability terms...you don't need a car there...as for meeting the needs of the borough I am not sure...but does the development need to?

No one is a local anymore in Central London.

Yes...I see what you mean. I agree, the area is extremely accessible so definitely sustainable in those terms.

Well those were all the main areas I wanted to cover, thank you for taking the time to fill out my questionnaire.

Main themes from Interview with Interviewee O

- A) successful mixed use schemes will have a good balance of uses,
- B) design has large part to play in creating a sense of place,
 - a. good design can allow people to enjoy these areas,
- C) Mixed use is fundamentally about making the area more sustainable, that is more important than meeting the needs of local people,
- D) Public consultation is important to contribute to sense of place, allows people to fit in with new developments,
- E) Paddington Waterside has provided a weak sense of place
 - a. However, the mix of uses will not create a strong sense of place,
 - b. The uses provided will allow apartments to be occupied by the commercial providers, and residents can travel easily at weekends